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CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS,

RELATING TO ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

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V. 6. p. 1. a
VOL. VI.—PART I,

1555—1556.

EDITED BY

RAWDON BROWN.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

LONDON:

LONGMAN & Co., PATERNOSTER ROW; TRÜBNER & Co., LUDGATE HILL;

ALSO BY

PARKER & Co., OXFORD; MACMILLAN & Co., CAMBRIDGE;

A. & C. BLACK, EDINBURGH; AND A. THOM, DUBLIN.

1877.

CALENDARS.

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* * * Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

CALENDAR
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VENICE.
—
1555—1556.

PREFACE.

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signalized by the death of St. Queen and the loss of Calais.

On the 23rd of May 1555 the Neapolitan Cardinal Pietro Caraffa, Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, was elected Pope, and took the name of Paul IV. In his 38th year, then, he became Pope. He had been sent by Leo X. as Nuncio to England, chiefly to collect Peter's pence. He arrived there in the spring

PREFACE.

THE text of this the sixth volume of the Calendar of Venetian State Papers extends from the commencement of the year 1555 to the end of the reign of Queen Mary. It professes merely to record events connected with the political history of England during that period, yet it also illustrates the characters of the contemporary sovereigns and prime ministers, whose individual sentiments are expressed in their own words, a thing of very rare occurrence. I have therefore availed myself largely of the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors, which have supplied me with abundant materials not elsewhere to be gathered, the greater part of them having never been published either in the original Italian or in any other language. Those of Bernardo Navagero are especially valuable, because they describe the Court of Rome at a time when Papal supremacy was acknowledged in England, although the reigning Pontiff not only "deprived" her King of all his crowns, but waged open war upon him; and a more convincing proof of the intensity of Queen Mary's religious sentiments cannot be afforded than the patient resignation with which she endured the injuries and insults heaped by her spiritual Father on a consort she so dearly loved. The despatches of the Venetian ambassador at the court of Henry II. are also important, as they serve to elucidate the policy of that monarch, and the hostilities between King Philip and France, which were

signalized by the rout of St. Quentin and the loss of Calais.

On the 23rd of May 1555 the Neapolitan Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, was elected Pope, and took the name of Paul IV. In his 38th year, then being Bishop of Chieti, he had been sent by Leo X. as Nuncio to England, chiefly to collect Peter's pence.¹ He arrived there in the spring of 1514, and from that time until early in 1516 he was intimate with Archbishop Warham, Sir Thomas More, and Ammonius. He also corresponded with Erasmus, whom he encouraged to edit the Epistles of St. Jerome; but in August 1558 "in the holy congregation of the Inquisition," as we are informed on English authority, Pope Paul IV. prohibited the sale or purchase of all copies of St. Jerome's works which contained any annotations or epistles of Erasmus, and of all other works wherein Erasmus had written anything upon St. Jerome.² This information was addressed to Queen Mary from Rome, three months before her death, by Sir Edward Carne, concerning whom the Pope, mindful of his own residence in England, said to Navagero, on the 8th May 1557, that "for a native " of those regions he was not presumptuous, and very " intelligent." On the same occasion, a month before the defiance sent by Queen Mary to the King of France, when discussing the general character of Carne's compatriots, and the Spanish rule, the Pope continued, "We are indeed of opinion that England will " be glad to remain at peace, for the English are not

¹ Panvinio's *Lives of the Popes*, p. 684, ed. Venice, 1643.

² Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the reign of Mary, p. 391.

“ very easily managed,¹ and we cannot believe that they
 “ will rest under the Spanish yoke; neither is the realm
 “ altogether quiet. There is moreover much to do on
 “ account of their [religious?] opinions, and should the
 “ worst come to the worst, by an insurrection in the
 “ country, the King of France will find a powerful ally
 “ in Scotland, and the Scots, who are mostly a wild race
 “ (*selvatici*), would joyfully invade England in the hope
 “ of plunder.”

The precise moment of the departure of the Bishop of Chieti from England is unknown, but he probably presented himself as nuncio to King Charles of Spain at Brussels in January 1516. On his arrival in the Low Countries his friend Erasmus (whose dedication of St. Jerome seems to have been accepted by Leo X. in the summer of 1515) was apparently persecuted by certain theologians, “sanctioned by the Pope and the King, but
 “ he dispersed the cloud by visiting Louvain, and partly
 “ by the favour of the nobles, and especially of the
 “ Bishop of Chieti.”² This circumstance warrants a belief that down to that time Caraffa had tolerated liberal

¹ Literally “cooked”—“*perchè Inglesi non sono molti (sic) boni da cuocer.*” I find the same expression in a letter of Navagero’s (p. 206 recto, date 23rd October 1557). The Pope was alluding to certain members of the Venetian Senate who defended Cardinal Pole’s friend Luigi Priuli from the charge of heresy brought against him by Paul IV., who said to the Venetian ambassador, “*molti di quelli Signori sono ostinati e non molto buoni da cuocer.*” Paul IV., besides being one of the best classical scholars of the 16th century, was a great professor of coarse and abusive language. Many instances might be adduced in support of this assertion, but I will refer to one only at p. 722, where the Pope’s application of the epithet “carrión” to Ascanio della Cornia shows that Dr. Johnson was wrong in supposing it to be a term of reproach reserved exclusively for “worthless” women, such as “that foolish carrión Mrs. Quickly.” It must not, however, be supposed that low phraseology had never previously been heard at the Vatican. (See Venetian Calendar, Vol. II., Preface, xxxvii., xxxviii., xl., xli.)

² Mr. Brewer’s Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. II., Part II., p. 982.

opinions in religion, and it may also be said, considering the nature of the times, that Erasmus was fortunate in finding a champion who, amongst the many charges brought against him, was never accused of heterodoxy.

In June 1517,¹ Erasmus wrote to Sir Thomas More, from Antwerp, that he had supped with the Bishop of Chieti, who was canvassing to accompany Prince Charles into Spain, and from what he himself told the Venetian ambassador, Navagero, on the 12th October 1556, it may be inferred that his wish was granted him, although on the 23rd August 1517, Erasmus wrote to the Lutheran Renano (the corrector of the press of Froben's printing house at Basle), from Louvain, that the Bishop of Chieti, in the hope of making his fortune, had consumed his own substance and that of his friends, and had been accused to the King, by means of memorials (*litterulis*) and memoranda (*notulis*), but that Caraffa was not yet aware of this, nor did Erasmus dare communicate it to him, from fear of compromising his intelligencers.

In the account, dated 29th September 1517, given to Henry VIII. by Spinelly, of the landing in Spain of King Charles, there is a list of the great personages who accompanied him, but it does not include the name of the ex-collector of "Peter's pence."

In subsequent letters, however, Spinelly apparently alludes to him, though not by name, as "the Pope's Nuncio;"² and in the Venetian ambassador's descrip-

¹ In the edition of Erasmus' Letters, published in London, A.D. 1642 (cols. 394, 395), as also in the Lyons edition of 1706 (Part I., cols. 380, 381), the date of the year has been misprinted 1518. King Charles embarked at Middelburgh for Spain on the 12th August 1517, and after a dangerous voyage, landed at Villa Viciosa on the 13th of the following month of September.

² See Spinelly's letters of 6th January, 2nd April, 18th September, 31st October, and 18th November 1518; also a letter from Kite, Archbishop of Armagh, 8th October, same year.—(Mr. Brewer's Calendar, Henry VIII., under these dates.)

tion of King Charles's entry into Valladolid on the evening of the 18th November 1517,¹ it is stated that "after the heralds came the ambassadors of the most Serene King of England,² between whom was a Nuncio of the High Pontiff; and then came the Cardinal of Tortosa and the Imperial ambassador, and betwixt them was the other Papal Nuncio; they being followed immediately by the King Catholic alone." Of these two nuncios the first mentioned was possibly the nuncio accredited to Ferdinand the Catholic, and who remained in Spain after that King's death on the 23rd January 1516, having subsequently received fresh credentials to King Charles' Viceroy or Regent, Cardinal Ximenes, who died on the 8th November 1517. The second was undoubtedly Caraffa. On the King's entry into Valladolid, the nuncio accredited to him would of course take precedence of the one who had resided with his predecessor.

The same ambassador, Cornaro, on the 8th January 1519, wrote to the Signory as follows:—

"Dom Francesco Chieregato has arrived with the title of the Pope's commissary, to investigate about the Nuncio there in Spain [Caraffa?] from his Holiness, who has little trust in him, from his having become quite a Spaniard. Chieregato hopes the Pope will send to him, Chieregato, the title of nuncio.

"The two English Ambassadors³ who were there took leave of the King four days ago, to return home. They departed, having received good presents, and Cornaro accompanied them outside the town. On St. John's day [27th December] they dined with Cornaro, who gave the banquet to celebrate the knighthood conferred on him, and for the honour of our Signory it was a very

¹ Sanuto's Diaries contain transcripts of the despatches of Francesco Cornaro, Venetian ambassador to King Charles of Spain, from November 1517 to March 1520.

² Sir Thomas Spinelly and Sir John Stile.

³ John Kite, Bishop of Armagh, and Lord Berners.

sumptuous one; the Pope's Nuncio [Caraffa?] was there, and the ambassadors from France, from the Emperor, and from Genoa, and the Catholic King's silversmith,¹ M. de Chievres, was to have come, but remained at home from gout, and sent some of his gentlemen."

The next allusion made by Cornaro to a nuncio in Spain is dated 12th February 1519, when he wrote to the Doge and Senate, from Barcelona:—

"On the 12th a solemn mass was celebrated, the Pope's Nuncio [Caraffa?] and the ambassadors from France and England being present at it, nor were any others invited, and King Charles (*quel Re*) swore to the articles stipulated between the most Christian King and the King of England, to which his Catholic Majesty has become a party."²

This is the last mention by Cornaro of the anonymous nuncio in Spain, and as, in date of 22nd March 1519, the same ambassador narrates conversations "with the "Pope's nuncio Domino Francesco Chiericato," it may be assumed that the Bishop of Chieti took leave of the future Emperor at Barcelona in February 1519. This conjecture is supported by the statement of Panvinio, that whilst in Spain the Bishop of Chieti became the great friend of Adrian Florent, who was elected Pope on the 9th January 1522. To form a lasting friendship the term of two years and a half does not seem more than sufficient.

In a conversation with the Venetian Ambassador, in October 1556 (p. 701), Paul IV. alleged that he quitted Spain in disgust; but if that were the case it is im-

¹ In Sanuto's original Diaries, Vol. 26, p. 244 verso, the word is written distinctly "*Parzentier*," but in the Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. III., Part I., p. 24, there is a letter from Spinelly to Wolsey, which mentions "*the Audiencer*."

² Compare this with Spinelly's letter to Wolsey on the same subject.—(Brewer, Vol. III., Part I., pp. 24, 25.)

probable that the Emperor's ex-tutor and staunch adherent, Pope Adrian, would in 1522 have desired Caraffa to come to Rome that he might help him to reform the Church, the Pope being also expected to give him the red hat;¹ still less on dismissing him would the King Catholic have conferred on him the archbishopric of Brindisi in 1518 or 1519, as asserted by Ughelli and Carraciolo.²

Here I must remark that as we are warranted in disbelieving this allegation of Paul IV., so must we refuse credit to the many other serious charges brought by that Pope against Charles V.; and as the Cardinal of Compostella told Paul IV. to his face (p. 542) that his violence was said to be assumed, so may posterity perhaps infer that from pretence his Holiness proceeded to falsehood.

The present volume commences with congratulations to Queen Mary from the Doge of Venice on the return of England to the Roman Catholic faith. On the 12th March, Giovanni Michiel, the Venetian ambassador, gives the first news of the Duke of Alva and Ruy Gomez being in England, and of King Philip's having sent for William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, from his country seat, desiring him to cross the Channel to superintend the fortification of Guisnes, and to give advice to the Deputy at Calais, Lord Wentworth, whose youth and inexperience might encourage the French to attack those places, should the Queen's confinement terminate inauspiciously. On the same day Cardinal Pole wrote from London to Pope Julius III. recommending three

¹ "Che se lungo tempo vivuto Adriano fusse, pareva, che avesse dovuto senza alcun dubbio darli il cappello."—(Panvinio, *Delle Vite dei Pontefici*, p. 684.)

² See Cardella, iv. 164.

ambassadors going to Rome from England, Lord Montague, the Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne. Julius III. died on the 23rd March 1555, and was succeeded by Marcello II., who lived only 22 days, so that the obedience of England to the Apostolic See was rendered by them to Pope Paul IV., whose supremacy, during the Queen's lifetime, was thenceforth acknowledged by the statutes of the realm.

At the time of the appointment of the English embassy to Rome, a Lutheran demonstration took place at Mastricht, caused by the Emperor's gift of a number of persons convicted of heresy to Antonio Doria, as oarsmen for his galleys. Doria sent an agent to receive them, and when passing through Mastricht with his charge the populace stoned him, and 60 of the slaves made their escape.¹

Whilst the Flemings at Mastricht were showing their abhorrence of persecution for religious opinions, the Norfolk peasantry rose in arms to save the ex-bishop of Lincoln from the stake, and simultaneously Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, wrote from Fodringham Castle to King Philip asking his protection, which he could scarcely hope to secure after the discovery of the Suffolk plot to march upon London and dethrone the Queen and her consort. In April, however, he was released, and at the end of the month Elizabeth Tudor arrived at Hampton Court, where the Queen then resided, from her prison at Woodstock. She was accompanied by three or four female attendants and the like number of gentlemen.

It is stated by Mr. Froude² that "on an evening in

¹ In a former volume I showed that the oarsmen who rowed the Venetian "Flanders galleys" were free-born Slavonians, who had a burial vault in North Stoneham church near Southampton.

² Vol. vi. p. 358, ed. 1860.

“ the beginning of July, Lady Clarence, Mary’s favourite attendant, brought a message that the Queen was expecting her sister in her room. The Princess was led across the garden in the dusk, and introduced by a back staircase into the royal apartments.” The same title “ Lady Clarence ” is used twice previously at p. 118 in the same volume; somewhat to the disparagement of its local tints, by spoiling the effect of the “ holy wafer ” and the “ *Veni, Creator* ;” and the author’s fellow historian styles the same personage “ *Lady Clarence*,” “ *Mrs. Clarencieux*,” and “ *the Queen’s old maid*.”¹ I cannot but maintain that the Venetian “ Report ” of Giovanni Michiel, although pronounced to be “ most inaccurate,”² serves at least in one instance to enlighten Queen Mary’s English biographers. It proves that her Majesty’s “ Mistress of the Robes ” was neither “ Lady,” nor “ Mrs. Clarencieux,” nor yet an “ old maid.”³ Her maiden name was Katharine Pole, and as she was great granddaughter and representative, by the mother’s side, of George Plantagenet, who is supposed to have been drowned in a butt of malmsey in the Tower, she therefore “ by courtesy ” bore the title of “ Clarence.” Her father Henry Pole had been beheaded by Henry VIII. on the 29th January 1539, leaving two daughters, his coheirs, the nieces of the Cardinal Legate; Katharine married Francis de Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon, and her sister Winifred married first Sir Thomas Hastings, Lord Huntingdon’s younger brother, and secondly Sir Thomas Barrington. I give these tedious details lest the charge of “ extreme inaccuracy ” may prejudice my

¹ Strickland, pp. 459, 563 (*Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. iii. ed. London, 1854).

² Froude, vol. vi. p. 400.

³ According to Collins she had eleven children.

readers against the epistolary correspondence of Michiel, whose exactness as a letter-writer may be further tested.

On the 29th April 1555, Michiel announced that on that day or on the morrow Elizabeth Tudor was to arrive at Hampton Court from Woodstock; and on the following 6th May (p. 61) he informed the Doge and Senate that when she appeared she was neither met nor received by anyone, but was placed in the apartment lately inhabited by the Duke of Alva, "where she lives in retirement, "not having been seen by any one, *save once or twice* "by their Majesties, by private stairs." Now Michiel's critic asserts that the Queen's first meeting with Elizabeth after her release from Woodstock took place on "an evening in the beginning of July;" nor is this disparity of date immaterial, as it enables the reader to compare the "accuracy" of a contemporary intelligencer with that of one whose news is given three centuries after date. I may add that my extracts from Michiel's report were made from a copy transcribed by a Venetian nobleman who was ambassador extraordinary to James I. in 1610, and who died Doge of Venice on the 6th December 1624; and the following words in it, "*Miseressa Clarentia sua Cameriera*,"¹ enable me to correct the ludicrous titles conferred by modern historians on the chief lady of Queen Mary's Court.²

On the 6th May 1555 Michiel writes that news had

¹ In October 1501, when Katharine of Aragon arrived in England as the bride of Prince Arthur, her chief female adviser and attendant, Doña Elvira Manuel, bore the title of "*Camarera Mayor*," translated by English contemporaries "Mistress" (of the robes), as appears by Michiel's "*Miseressa Clarentia*;" and on Queen Mary's marriage to King Philip, the title was revived in the person of Katharine Pole, Countess of Huntingdon.

² She was also the first English gentlewoman who kept a coach in London: it was given her by Michiel, as stated at the close of his Report. In Haydn's Dictionary of Dates (p. 173, ed. 1863), there is the following

reached London of the election of Pope Marcello; also that Ferrante Gonzaga having refused to come to England, and it being necessary to appoint a President of the Council there, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, the Emperor's prime minister, would therefore assume that post. The appointment, however, did not take place, and from several entries in the fifth volume of the Venetian Calendar, especially in date of 22d April and 4th July 1554, there is reason to believe that Cardinal Pole, who was then treated with asperity by the Bishop of Arras in Flanders, did not much wish for his official fellowship in England.

Preparations were now making for the Conference at Marek, a village in the Calais Pale, to negotiate peace between the Emperor and the King of France, under the immediate auspices of Queen Mary, against whom there was circulated in London an abusive "Dialogue" in the English tongue, attributed to the Queen's Italian master, Giovanni Battista Castiglione, a Piedmontese.¹

In this Conference, Cardinal Pole represented the Pope, and the Bishop of Arras was the Emperor's chief commissioner. At its fruitless close the Legate heard of the election of Paul IV., and wrote immediately to congratulate him on his elevation, inquiring whether he was still to follow the instructions he had received from

paragraph, "The first coach seen in England was in the reign of Mary, about 1553." Giovanni Michiel arrived as Venetian ambassador in England, on the 22nd May 1554.

¹ In the following year, at the same time as Katharine Ashley, he was again-imprisoned; and as they both confessed that they knew of some recent conspiracy, they were not expected to leave the Tower alive. The governess was, nevertheless, released in October 1556, and her accomplice at a subsequent date married Margaret Compagni, *alias* Compayne, a Florentine, who became the "mother" of Queen Elizabeth's maids. (See Machyn's Diary, p. 384.) Castiglione in that Queen's reign was living comfortably in Berkshire, at Benham Valence.

his Holiness' predecessors Julius III. and Marcello II. In France the result of this election had been foreseen, and King Henry II. told the ambassador Soranzo that the Pope had intercepted a letter from the Imperial ambassador at Rome to a Cardinal his confidant in conclave, intimating to him that the Imperial party were not in any way to favour Caraffa, but if they were compelled to desert the Emperor's nominees, they were then to support the Cardinal of Ferrara, or any other Cardinal of the French faction. At Brussels the Emperor's courtiers asserted that his Majesty was well aware of the new Pope's aversion to him on account of the Viceroy of Naples having for several years delayed giving him possession of the archbishopric of that city, but he believed that by promoting the interests of the Pope's kinsfolk in the Neapolitan territory, it would be in his power to overcome the enmity they had hitherto borne to him.

A few days afterwards, when the Papal Nuncio formally announced the Pope's election, the Emperor affably remarked that when he was a youth in his fourteenth year, Caraffa, then on his way to England, presented himself to the Lady Margaret, Governess of the Low Countries, either at Mechlin or Brussels, and sang mass, which, though forty years had elapsed, the Emperor still remembered; expressing a hope that the devout manner in which Caraffa performed that ceremony might foreshadow the policy to be adopted by him during his pontificate.

On the 6th of June, when Michiel went to Hampton Court to condole with King Philip on the death of his demented grandmother, the King told him he had that day received the news of the election of the Cardinal of Naples as Pope. The ambassador remarks that by the expression of the King's countenance "he did not evince

“ much pleasure at this.” On the same day Michiel saw the Queen viewing the procession to chapel from a casement, according to her daily custom. She was expecting her confinement in the course of the week, but the bed-chamber women were of a contrary opinion, and they proved to be right, for three weeks later the Queen’s pains were declared not to be those of parturition, and Sir George Harper and another man of quality were sent to the Tower for publicly and coarsely ridiculing them. Martial law was administered in London by Lord Pembroke; the printed works of Luther, Tindal, Miles Coverdale, and Cranmer were called in under penalty, and the usual city pageant on St. John’s eve, commonly called “ the setting of the midsummer watches,” was suppressed. Simultaneously at Brussels, when Michiel’s colleague Badoer expressed to the Emperor the Signory’s good wishes for the Queen’s delivery, he returned thanks, and stated that the news received there of its fulfilment was premature; and that the conclusion of the peace failed by fault of the French, whose demands were tantamount to stamping on his throat, a conceit which he illustrated by placing his right hand on his neck. As may be supposed, the King of France was amused at the disappointment of King Philip and his father, and said to the ambassador Soranzo, with regard to the negotiations for peace, that Cardinal Pole had not yet spoken to the Queen “ because she was in retirement on account of her pregnancy;” adding with a laugh, “ I know not whether she be or be not pregnant.”

At length, on the 5th of August, Michiel announced to the Signory that the Court had removed to Oatlands, both for the purpose of cleansing Hampton Court, which was in a very filthy state.¹ It was also desirable no longer to

¹ Erasmus, in an undated letter addressed to Cardinal Wolsey’s physician, attributes the frequent plagues, and the sweating sickness in

keep the country in the suspense caused by the public processions for the Queen's safe delivery, and that the Queen should resume business, her retirement having been so close that she merely saw the ladies of the Court, who were in very great number, all the female nobility of England having flocked thither from every part of the kingdom, so that with great difficulty could Hampton Court contain them, although it was, according to the ambassador, "one of the largest palaces that can be seen here or elsewhere." Thus also the Queen economised by giving permission to the greater part of the ladies to return to their homes under pretence of limited accommodation at Oatlands.

Cardinal Pole was now able to continue his endeavours to bring about peace between the Emperor and the King of France. His agent Parpaglia, who had accompanied him to Marek, received there a "writing" from the Constable, and on returning to England communicated a part of it by letter to the Bishop of Arras, writing at the same time to the Constable, that the suggestions in his "memorandum" were represented by Parpaglia to the Imperial prime minister as exclusively his own, so that should they please the Emperor, the King of France and the Constable might rest assured that the "writing" would remain a profound secret.

England, to the want of ventilation of the palaces and mansions there, and to the clay floors and rushes, thus:—"Tum sola fere strata sunt argilla, tum scirpis palustribus, qui subinde sic renovantur, ut fundamentum maneat aliquoties annos viginti, sub se fovens sputa, vomitus, mictum cinum et hominum, projectam cervisiam, et piscium reliquias, aliasque sordes non nominandas. Hinc mutato cœlo vapor quidam exhalatur, meâ sententiâ minime salubris humano corpori." But filth (rushes excepted) was not exclusively "an English characteristic" in the 16th century, for Soranzo, Michiel's colleague in France, wrote from Melun on the 29th May 1555, that the King had quitted Fontainebleau to give an opportunity for cleansing the palace, the Court having resided there a long while, and the stench being intolerable.

On the 27th August, Michiel announces the arrival, on the preceding day, of the King and Queen at Westminster, from Hampton Court, on their way to Greenwich. He remarks that the Queen, being very much in love, naturally felt disconsolate in prospect of Philip's departure, though she concealed it as much as she could; and that she "mourns the more when alone, and when she "supposes herself invisible to any of her attendants. "During this absence Cardinal Pole will reside with her, "lodgings having been assigned him in the palace, that "he may comfort and keep her company, Her Majesty "delighting greatly in the sight and presence of him." From Brussels, Badoer writes, that it would soon be decided whether the Emperor or his son should go to Spain, and on their meeting it was to be settled whether the adjustment of the difference between the Emperor and the King of the Romans should be arranged by Queen Maria, the Emperor's sister, or by his nephew and son-in-law the King of Bohemia, who had written to him a very humble letter, justifying himself for the second time against the charge of having favoured certain preachers of rare ability, who were accused of having Lutheran opinions.

King Philip departed from Greenwich for Dover on the 29th August, and Michiel, in the company of Cardinal Pole, witnessed the leave-taking between the Queen and the King, which he describes very minutely. A few days previously, in the Council-chamber, the King in his own and the Queen's name had appointed Pole prime minister of England, having already secured Pole's consent, for which purpose he went privately to the Legate's own apartment. Pole, as he told Michiel, did not think fit to combat the King's wish, as he felt certain that their Majesties' desire would have the approval of the Pope, which, as the Pope's representative, he was bound to obtain.

King Philip's Spanish prime minister, Don Ruy Gomez, by birth a Portuguese, preceded his master to Brussels, and there had audience of the Emperor on the 7th August, returning to England in time to recross with his master.¹ On the 28th August, while in London (being booted and spurred for his journey), he made an appointment with a Dalmatian soldier to confer with him at Brussels, where he asked his assistance for the intended assassination in Venice of Edward Courtenay, twelfth Earl of Devonshire and second Marquis of Exeter. Courtenay's death was compassed, not by steel at Venice, as was intended, but by poison at Padua, from which city Peter Vannes, the Queen's ambassador, wrote her an account of it on the 18th September 1556, commencing thus:—"The Earl of Devonshire died little more than an hour ago." In the middle of August whilst at Venice, where he was made much of, for his recreation he happened to go to Lido to see his hawk fly upon a waste.

"There he was suddenly overtaken by a great tempest of wind and rain, so that he could not return to Venice by his gondola, but was forced to take a searcher's boat which had arrived there by chance, and so got to Venice, 'being body and legs very thinly clothed, refusing to change them with any warmer garment.' About five days after, as he told Vannes, he had a fall on the stairs of his house, but, feeling well and suffering no pain, came hither. To avoid the tediousness of the water and save horses he took the worst way and came by 'a certain waggons called *coches*, very shaking and uneasy to my judgment,' arriving on a Saturday night. Hearing of his coming, went to visit him next day, and found him very weak. After that he grew daily worse and worse, avoiding friends' visitations as a speech molest to him, and drew himself to the counsel of two of the best physicians here, and entered into a continual great hot ague, some time more vehement than at another. He was always diligently attended. Has charged his servants in her Majesty's name to take a true inventory of the small moveables he had, and especially that *all writings or letters*

¹ Such was his supreme authority that the Spaniards styled him "*Rey*" Gomez.

*that he had here or at Venice shall be put in assurance to await the royal commands."*¹

Supposing the statement made to the Council of Ten by the Dalmatian soldier² to be true, a comparison thereof with the letter of Peter Vannes, and with the entries in this Calendar, from the 26th to the 28th November 1555 (relative to Courtenay's casket, and the sleights of policy and of hand of the Council of Ten), will perhaps convince my readers that neither the Republic of Venice, nor Queen Mary's English advisers, can be justly held accountable for the death, apparently by poison, of the Earl of Devonshire.

After his father's execution on the 9th January 1539, Edward Courtenay, being then only twelve years old, was sent by Henry VIII. to the Tower, where he remained until the accession of Queen Mary, who on the 4th of August 1553 released him. On the 2nd of October in that year, Cardinal Pole, being at Trent, wrote him a letter, the general tone of which implies the wish and expectation that his cousin might become his sovereign. To this I attribute the impediments to which the journey of the Legate towards Brussels and France was subjected by Don Juan de Mendoza, and the rude treatment subsequently experienced by him from the Emperor's prime minister, the Bishop of Arras.³ Charles V.

¹ See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 255.

² See pp. 294-297 in this volume. I may add that by Michiel's letter, dated 9th September (p. 182), it appears that Ruy Gomez being at Calais (towards which place he went from Brussels about the 19th August—pp. 165-170), there was time for him to be in England by the 28th of that month. Risano's date is therefore correct, as on that day the King was at Greenwich on his way to the sea-side.

³ The second part of this volume contains the despatches of the Venetian ambassador accredited to Philip and Mary in the years 1557-1558, by name Michiel Surian, and a passage in his "Report," made to the Senate in 1559, proves that the Bishop of Arras was no less unscrupulous a statesman than Don Ruy Gomez, and that Cardinal Pole was unpopular at Brussels, "because, having supreme authority in England, he never would use any

was bent on his son's marriage to the Queen of England, and in December 1553, the Bishop of Arras complained to the Venetian ambassador at Brussels, that Soranzo, his colleague in England, was thwarting it, in consequence of which complaint Soranzo was replaced by Michiel.¹

Courtenay remained at liberty from August 1553 until February 1554, during which interval his character has been admirably sketched by the popular historian of that period.² From Michiel's letters we now learn the precise moment of his release from Fodringham Castle (in April 1555), and his immediate departure for Brussels. According to a letter from Courtenay himself to Sir Francis Engle-

"extraordinary way, as desired by the Spaniards, to make the King absolute; so much so, that one day, the Bishop of Arras talking with me (Surian) about Cardinal Pole, said that he (Pole) neither knew nor understood anything about affairs of state and court, and that he was not good for anything in England, neither for counsel nor for government." Whereupon Surian remarks to the Senate, "This most holy and most innocent man is thus reproached (*imputato*), not only for what he has done, but for what he might have done had he chosen." (*See Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, da Eugenio Albèri." Series 1, Vol. 3, p. 299. Firenze, 1853.)

¹ In Strickland's Elizabeth (p. 72), there is a description of events in December 1553, thus: "During that eventful fortnight a formidable insurrection had broken out of which the ostensible object was the dethronement of the Queen, and the elevation of Elizabeth to the regal office. The French and Venetian ambassadors had both intrigued with the disaffected, and supplied them with money and arms;" and then at p. 123, Queen Elizabeth's biographer gives extracts from Michiel's "Report" of England made to the Senate in May 1557, and annotates them as follows: "Such is the testimony of the Venetian ambassador, of Elizabeth's position in her sister's court, *but it should be remembered that he is the same man who had intrigued with the conspirators to supply them with arms, and that his information is avowedly only hearsay evidence.*" As Michiel did not arrive in England till May 1554, and did not depart thence till February 1557, it may be said that he is defamed by hearsay, and that he narrated as an eye-witness.

² Badoer's account of the life he led in the Low Countries fully confirms the following graphic sketch of him: "Since his emancipation from the Tower he had wandered into folly and debauchery; he was vain and

field, he was already at Calais on the 8th May,¹ and Badoer writes that he arrived at Brussels on the 17th.² On the 26th we hear on the same authority that it had been already proposed to him to marry the Duchess of Lorraine, the Emperor's niece, whose hand had been refused by the Duke of Savoy.³ On the 29th of May Courtenay himself wrote to his mother, and his other correspondents in England, that on Sunday the 19th he was presented to the Emperor by the Duke of Alva;⁴ and early in June he was introduced by Sir John Masone to Federico Badoer, to whom he announced his intention of residing some time at Venice; Badoer remarking in cipher, "that he was evidently in great fear for his life, " and thought of nothing but preserving it; though he " had no suspicion of the Emperor, whose audience or " him had been loving."⁵ A few days later the Emperor showed himself still more gracious to Lord Paget's son and son-in-law, to whom on their arrival at Brussels he caused refreshments to be sent; and as this compliment was not paid to the Earl of Devonshire, although he was, as the English there remarked, infinitely superior to the Pagets, Courtenay felt piqued, and quitted Brussels for Louvain with only two servants. On the 13th June Mr. Basset wrote to him about "his very friend Don Ruy Gomez," and on the 30th, Badoer states that Masone had requested the Bishop of Arras to obtain permission from the Emperor for Courtenay to depart for Italy. To this request Granvelle replied that the Emperor did not interfere in this business, and that Courtenay should get leave from his Queen, but the bishop told Masone to

"inexperienced, and his insolence was kept in check only by the quality, " so rare in an Englishman, of personal timidity."—Froude, VI., 117 (ed. 1860).

¹ Venetian Calendar, VI., p. 63.

² *Ib.* p. 73.

³ *Ib.*, VI., pp. 83, 84.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 88, 89.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 99.

dissuade him from making this journey for the present, in order that he might see the war. The refusal of his request by the Emperor troubled Courtenay greatly.

In July Courtenay received a letter from his mother in London, informing him that Ruy Gomez had told her, by order of King Philip, that he had every reason to be easy in his mind, as King Philip loved him, and would soon show it by matter of fact, and therefore Courtenay was no longer intent on obtaining his passport for Italy. Moreover, several persons at Brussels had told him that should Queen Mary not have heirs, the Emperor would favour his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth. He accordingly returned to Brussels, and asked audience of his Imperial Majesty, without its being known for what purpose.

The letter conveying this intelligence to the Doge and Senate was dated Brussels, 28th July, and on the 31st July, Badoer's colleague at Richmond, Giovanni Michiel, intimated that his despatch to the Signory would be conveyed as far as Brussels by Don Ruy Gomez, who was then about to depart thither. Gomez arrived there on the 7th August, and immediately conferred with the Emperor, to whom he suggested that as Courtenay had been made to come to Brussels, so should the Lady Elizabeth be removed from England. Thereupon the Emperor held a long consultation with Queen Maria, the Bishop of Arras, and M. de Praet, and it was settled for King Philip to come over as soon as possible, bringing with him certain English malcontents, and that he was to try and induce the Lady Elizabeth to come and reside with the Queens Maria and Eleanor. This message was sent to King Philip by secretary Erasso, Ruy Gomez being then too ill to return to his master in England.

On hearing of the Spanish premier's arrival, Courtenay returned from Louvain and went to him immediately,

requesting that he would obtain from King Philip permission for him to go into Italy. Ruy Gomez replied that he was expecting his Majesty at Brussels in the course of the month, and that from him Courtenay might expect everything possible, adding all sorts of loving language. On good Spanish authority, Badoer understood that Courtenay would be compelled either to accompany the King to Spain, or else be sent under custody to Sicily; and the Lady Elizabeth would be treated like the Duke of Calabria, whom they sent to Spain, forbidding him to marry until his offspring could no longer cause the Emperor any trouble.

Whilst Ruy Gomez was on his way back to England, where he arrived in time to recross the Channel with King Philip on the 4th September (after having the brief interview with the Dalmatian soldier at Greenwich already referred to), Courtenay, when riding through Brussels, had his attendants attacked by some Spaniards on account of former disputes. He reproved the assailants, but was answered by threats, and seeing some of their countrymen coming up to reinforce them, he escaped to his lodging. On his retreat four of his attendants were wounded, as also were some of the Spaniards. He then went to the Bishop of Arras, complaining that this was the fourth assault to which his retinue had been subjected, and he was promised that these annoyances should not be repeated. The bishop attributed them to disputes about prostitutes between menials; and he invited Courtenay to accompany him to mass in the cathedral, to show the world that what took place was owing to rogues, and from other causes than lack of goodwill on the part of the Imperial ministers towards the English nation.

A few days later the Emperor received a letter from his son to say that Lord Paget had strongly urged him not to take the Lady Elizabeth out of the kingdom, as it

would cause too great a commotion. Badoer was also informed that Lord Courtenay would soon be allowed to go to Italy, and that the Bishop of Arras so honoured him in public, that he compelled him by force to take precedence and keep the right hand.

On it being heard at Brussels that King Philip and Ruy Gomez had set out from Calais, the Earl of Devonshire and Sir John Masone rode to meet them. The royal party dismounted on the 8th of September, at the Casino, near the Louvain gate; the King knelt before his father begging for permission to kiss his hand. To this, however, the Emperor would not consent, and doffing his own bonnet instead, holding it in his hand, he requested him earnestly to rise, in the act of doing which the King insisted on kissing his left arm, when the Emperor embraced and kissed him so lovingly that the tears came to his eyes. The King then called by name the Admiral, Lord William Howard, and the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and some other English gentlemen, and presented them to the Emperor, who received them joyfully, but did not allow them to kiss his hand, it being his wont never to give it to such as are not his own subjects.

Three days after these presentations, the obsequies of the Emperor's demented mother, Queen Joanna, were celebrated, and owing to the dispute for precedence between England and Portugal, Sir John Masone (according to report) was not to be invited to attend them; but Masone declared that, with or without an invitation, he intended to be present at the ceremony, together with the other Englishmen at Brussels, who determined that after the funeral they would return home; nor would they accept the lodging provided for them by the King, but requested him to allow them to select one to their own satisfaction.

Whilst the hearse was being erected in the cathedral of

St. Gudule, Queen Joanna's daughter Maria, then 52 years old, was making preparations for a hunt in honour of her nephew's arrival. The Queen Dowager of Hungary was a stateswoman, an admirable horsewoman, and took unerring aim with the cross-bow. She was of diminutive stature, of very spare frame, with a thick underlip, and was never quiet either at home or abroad. She was intellectual, and had courage enough for anything. Besides the lip, her Burgundian descent was demonstrated by her character, which, woman as she was, more nearly resembled that of Charles the Bold than that of her gentle and forgiving great grandmother, Maria of Burgundy. King Philip told Masone that this hunt was prepared "for us English" (*per noi altri Inglesi*), but Courtenay was not invited to it, the reason assigned for this neglect being that the Bishop of Arras having sent his brother to invite him to a supper at which the rest of the English were to be present, Courtenay had him told that he was not at home.

Sir John Masone's remarks about his exclusion from Queen Joanna's obsequies were expressed in such unmeasured terms that Ruy Gomez taxed him with indiscretion for presuming so strongly to urge the rights of the Queen in a city where her Consort was residing; telling Masone that he was a mere agent, and that for the future no other title would be conceded him. The Spanish prime minister also said that when Masone went to meet the King, his haughty demeanour was such, that not only did he not dismount, but made Courtenay follow his example. Ruy Gomez moreover reproached him with having written to the Lords of the Council in England that Courtenay's servants had been maltreated by the Spaniards at Brussels, the other English being no less ill looked on, which, when King Philip returned, might

induce them to take their revenge in London. On hearing of these charges Masone went to Ruy Gomez, who refused either to receive him or to obtain audience for him from the King, whereupon Masone exclaimed to the bystanders, "Oh, God! if the King treats me so ill, I, who was of his faction, following Lord Paget in favouring the marriage, what will he do to those who opposed him?"

On the morrow, when the King appeared in public, Masone went and apologised to him, saying that he did not get off his horse to avoid impeding his Majesty's progress, but the reception given him was cold. After listening to his excuses, the King ordered him, in terms more applicable to a menial than to an ambassador, to tell the English nobility who had accompanied him to Brussels, to hold themselves in readiness for a hunt, prepared by his aunt Queen Maria, who would send a horse for each of them, because, they having travelled postwise, it was requisite to mount them.

Of these affronts offered by Queen Mary's Consort to her ambassador, there is no mention in the Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, and respecting the English nobility who accompanied King Philip to Brussels, Masone merely wrote thence to the Council on the 22nd September 1555:—

"The lords who came hither waiting upon his Majesty intended to have taken leave to-morrow, but this afternoon his Highness has required them, on the Emperor's behalf, to tarry one day longer. On Tuesday next they mind to return to England, when doubtless they will make such report of their royal entertainment here as they have right good reason to do."¹

It is possible that the last eight words of the paragraph

¹ Michiel wrote from Greenwich on the 7th October that Lord Howard of Effingham and the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Huntingdon had returned on the 3rd, and were much pleased with the reception given them at Brussels.

vaguely implied dissatisfaction, but as, in July 1555, Carne wrote from Rome a full and precise account of his dispute for precedence at Rome with the Portuguese ambassador,¹ it can only be supposed either that Masone forbore to make any complaints, or that Queen Mary suppressed any despatches the contents of which might render her Consort unpopular; and the like may be surmised respecting Carne's correspondence when it disparaged the policy of Paul IV. The reserve of these two English diplomatists, or of their Sovereign, is manifested by the despatches of Badoer and Navagero, which thus demonstrate clearly how the Calendars now in course of publication connect themselves one with another, and throw fresh light upon English history.

To return to Courtenay. On the 15th of October King Philip granted him permission to go to Italy, or to any other country he pleased, and he presented himself twice to the Venetian ambassador, informing him of his intention to depart in a fortnight for Venice. He apparently arrived there in January 1556, and seems to have anticipated "royal honours," for on the 8th February we find the Council of Ten apologising to him for withholding them, "for his own sake." A few days later the Ten granted him an arms-permit for 25 of his attendants, a precaution rendered necessary as an act of humanity, owing to a statement made to the Ten on the 24th December 1555, by Marco da Risano (whose presence in England in September of that year is confirmed by the ambassador Michiel), intimating that King Philip had cancelled the writ banishing him from Naples, and granted to him permission to dispose of the pension and other profits (*la provisione ed altri utili*) given him there

¹ Foreign Calendar (Mary, p. 180).

by the Emperor; with which concessions he left England perfectly satisfied.

The Foreign Calendar (Mary, p. 229) states that in June 1556 Courtenay was in the territory of the Duke of Ferrara, the ally of France. The close of his career has been already told, and it seems probable that Peter Vannes knew less about the causes of his death than the Spanish ambassador, Francisco de Vargas, and that the French ambassador, the Bishop of Lodève, was better acquainted with the contents of his casket than the representative of England in Venice, who only obtained such meagre information as is printed in this volume, from page 64 to page 255. The matters set out there are mere historical curiosities, and do not expose the political intrigues then in progress between Courtenay, the King of France, and the Duke of Ferrara.

At the time when Courtenay informed the Venetian ambassador at Brussels that King Philip had allowed him to travel, Queen Mary gave leave to her sister Elizabeth Tudor to return to Hatfield from Greenwich. During her stay at Greenwich Cardinal Pole never once saw her, although their apartments were contiguous; nor did they ever meet until the end of November 1556, when she went from Somerset House to visit him at Lambeth.

On the 25th October 1555, at Brussels, the Emperor renounced the states of Flanders to his son, in the presence of the Queens Eleanor and Maria, but the Archduke Ferdinand, his nephew, studiously avoided being present at the ceremony by reason of the claims of the King of the Romans, his father, on the Low Countries. Archduke Ferdinand came ostensibly to take leave of the Emperor on his departure for Spain, but in reality for a deeper purpose, it being evident that Queen Mary would die childless, and his Imperial Majesty was desirous that

his nephew should marry her sister Elizabeth, and thus share the crown of England. In return for this the Emperor expected the King of the Romans, and his son the King of Bohemia, to consent to King Philip's being appointed "Vicar of the Empire;" but in July 1556, at Brussels, the King of Bohemia declared that his father did not desire Charles V. to renounce the Imperial title, meaning (I infer) unless the resignation were made unconditionally; a supposition which is corroborated by the Emperor's letter to the King of the Romans dated 12th September 1556,¹ showing that the Emperor's renunciation depended on the acceptance by the Electors of his terms, which "he *hopes* Ferdinand will urge by "assisting his ambassadors." One of these was the Prince of Orange, on whose arrival in Bohemia the King of the Romans avoided seeing him.

It is also evident that the Emperor did not intend to abdicate, because on his leaving the Low Countries for Spain the powers left by him to Ferdinand for ruling the Empire were more limited than ever, and he took with him to San Yuste the Imperial crown, the mantle, and sceptre, and also an agent of the King of the Romans.² On the 2nd of October 1555 Badoer wrote from Brussels that the servants of the King of England complained greatly of King Ferdinand's thwarting the Emperor's wish to obtain for his son the title of "Vicar in Italy;" and a few days later Badoer wrote distinctly that, as the King of the Romans would not consent to the King of England being "Vicar in Italy," the Emperor, who had intended and promised his brother to renounce the Empire to him, would now not do so, but retire to Spain

¹ See Lanz, III., 711.

² See Badoer, Report of Charles V., in Albéri, series I., vol. iii. pp. 230-231.

without giving him any other "administration" than he was entitled to by his investiture.

These facts are of some historical importance, both because one of the Emperor's modern biographers makes it appear that the Archduke Ferdinand was sent by his father to deter the Emperor from renouncing the Empire,¹ whereas it now appears that the Emperor sent for his nephew, to offer him the hand of Elizabeth Tudor, presumptive heiress of the crown of England, and to resign the Imperial crown to the King of the Romans, provided King Philip were appointed "Vicar in Italy;" and as the counter-statement is based on the contemporary correspondence between the Emperor and his brother, we thus learn that the semi-official letters of sovereigns have often a hidden meaning which professional historians misunderstand, unless it be explained to them by an uninterrupted series of contemporaneous diplomatic despatches. These modify the sense of documents, which, however authentic, are but fragmentary, and often lead to false conclusions.

In Froude's History of England, it is said that Queen Mary dissolved her fourth Parliament on the 9th of September, probably a misprint for 9th December, for according to Cardinal Pole and Giovanni Michiel, the dissolution took place on the latter day. As a supplement to what Mr. Froude says about the general spirit of the House, we learn through the ambassador Badoer that Queen Mary wrote to her consort that she had urged him to come to her, because a number of violent

¹ "Il" (le Roi des Romains) "lui envoya en même temps son second fils l'archiduc Ferdinand, pour le détourner de renoncer à l'Empire et le supplier, dans le cas où sa résolution à cet égard serait inébranlable, de consentir au moins à ne pas la rendre publique jusqu'à la prochaine diète." ("Charles-Quint, son abdication," par M. Mignet (p. 117, septième édition, Paris, 1868).

opposition members had been returned to Parliament, in consequence of which she did not venture to propose his coronation; and she added, that if she were unable to carry this Act (termed by her "so beneficial for the common weal"), she thought of effecting it on the dissolution of Parliament, with the aid of a number of peers (*signori*) and other personages of the kingdom. King Philip replied that as she naturally desired this result more than he did, he therefore requested her not to propose anything in this matter unless sure of success. The importance attached by the Emperor and King Philip to the ceremony of the coronation has not I believe been noticed by English historians. I therefore venture to call attention to the pages in this volume where the fact is recorded.¹ According to report, in May 1556, Charles V. had some idea of enforcing the coronation of his son by a fleet; whilst Basse Fontaine, the French ambassador at Brussels, told Lord Paget that his King would favour the people of England, were they to refuse their consent to this Act, and oppose it by force.

The notoriety of this circumstance in Flanders may be inferred from the fact that the ambassador there rarely wrote its particulars in cipher. This reminds me that at the period in question, which was that of the Dudley conspiracy, Michiel wrote a ciphered paragraph about it from London to the Senate, and as I omitted it at page 412 of this volume, where it ought to have followed the words "*between the two crowns*," I now insert it:

"But should Clinton in France, or Paget at Brussels, have other matters to negotiate at those courts, your Serenity will

¹ Pp. 271, 281, 299, 362, 415, 416, 419, 420, 442, 444, 445, 446.

receive from thence fuller and more certain intelligence, as it is less difficult to conceal transactions in the places where they end than where they commence and originate.¹

In April 1556, Queen Maria of Hungary was in constant correspondence with Queen Mary, whom she urged to put aside her timidity and every consideration, and to crown her Consort, who otherwise would never return to her, which advice was supposed to be interested, the Emperor's sister wishing her nephew to go to England, that she might resume the Regency of Flanders instead of accompanying her brother to Spain. It was also proposed to send the Lady Elizabeth thither, her marriage with the Archduke Ferdinand having failed to take effect. Henry II. said he had heard this on good authority, and that the Princess Elizabeth was to marry Don Carlos.

Amongst the persons arrested in England on account of the Dudley conspiracy, was a female politician called by Michiel "the widow Brocklier," but who seems to have been the relict of Sir Walter Bucler, who on a certain occasion in October 1552 befriended Elizabeth Tudor. This lady has not been registered among the political martyrs of the time, and all we hear of her from the Venetian ambassador in London is, that

¹ "*Potendo meno difficilmente occultarsi le cose in quelli lochi dove si finiscono che là dove nascono et hanno principio.*" The truth of this political axiom impressed itself greatly on a celebrated Italian prime minister, whose official duties had prevented him from examining Pasini's decipher until the month of July 1876, when the paragraph omitted by me was perused by him in the Venetian Archives with such evident self-complacency, that it can only be accounted for, by his considering it good authority (given three centuries ago) for one of the last acts of his own wise administration, which was to unravel the tangled skein of the Eastern Question, and perhaps to take advantage of it, by accrediting the successors of the Italian crown, to the Czar, and not to the Sultan.

“ although a gentlewoman, she was nevertheless factious and had a bad name ;” so, lest search should be made for her, she determined on flight, to avoid imprisonment, but was arrested either at the sea-side or on the road, and taken to the Tower. She was joined there almost immediately by Sir Peter Carew and Sir John Cheke (son-in-law of the ambassador Masone), both of whom had been captured between Mechlin and Antwerp, on suspicion of fresh plots against the King and his consort. The English at Brussels resented this greatly, being of opinion that the suspicion was unfounded, and that King Philip would thus lose the adherents hitherto gained by him.

On the 30th May, the Emperor heard that Paul IV. intended to call a Lateran Council, for the purpose of depriving him and the King of the Romans of their dignities, because at the Diet of Augsburg the King consented that Germany should live according to the Confession of Augsburg, and to this the Emperor had submitted. This caused the chief ministers at Brussels to express hopes that his Holiness, thinking to do their Majesties harm, would thus reconcile them to each other, making them and their sons also become friends. On receiving these despatches and hearing that the Pope was sending commissioners into the kingdom of Naples, the Emperor exhibited the most violent rage. He assembled the Council of State daily, and on one occasion summoned thither his own confessor Father Soto, and King Philip's confessor De Castro, showing them letters from Rome, to the effect that if the King of Spain withdrew his obedience, the Pope would excommunicate him and deprive him of the title of King. The confessors, whose orthodoxy was undoubted, suggested that the people might yet be kept to their allegiance, as had been done on a

similar occasion ninety years previously, by the Archbishops of Toledo and Tarragona.

In the meanwhile the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Caraffa, arrived at the French Court with legatine powers, it being said that amongst other things he would endeavour to make peace between the two crowns, for which same purpose a second Legate was expected at Brussels, where he never arrived. The Emperor was in favour of acting vigorously against the Pope, but King Philip deprecated whatever might lead to war.

In the second half of July 1556, there was a great rush of Flemings to Brussels, to see the six crowned heads assembled there, namely, the Emperor, King Philip, the King and Queen of Bohemia, Eleanor Queen Dowager of France, and Maria ex-Queen of Hungary. Maximilian, King of Bohemia, did not conceal his dislike of the Spaniards, and styled the ministers at Brussels "dwarf Spaniards." It was again talked of to give the hand of the Lady Elizabeth to Archduke Ferdinand, but nothing was settled about the title of "Vicar in Italy" for King Philip. On the 9th of August at 4.30 p.m. the Emperor quitted Brussels for ever, and on the 27th, at Ghent, Badoer took leave of him. His last words about the Pope were, that "he hoped he would abstain from playing his "mad pranks, which he (the Emperor) attributed to such "extreme old age that he (the Pope) might be said to "have arrived at second childhood," adding that, in the midst of so much mischief, this was a blessing. On the 29th the Emperor proceeded from Ghent towards the seaside, in a litter, and on the 16th September at 8h. 40m. a.m. he embarked at Arnemuiden for Spain. He was accompanied by his sisters, the two Queens, Maria and Eleanor, but did not put into Dover to embark the presumptive heiress of the English crown, neither did he

land troops there, to enforce the coronation of King Philip, though by a document in the Appendix to this volume it will be seen that even before Philip's marriage was consummated, the Emperor gave proof of intending him to be supreme in England, by ordering the foreign ambassadors, who were despatched with congratulations on the marriage in the summer of 1554, to remain in London, and not to go beyond, for announcement of their homage, until *after* the arrival of the King Consort.

On the Emperor's departure Ruy Gomez remained King Philip's prime minister in the Low Countries, in like manner as in England Queen Mary's cabinet was ruled by Cardinal Pole, whose official acts being sufficiently manifested by the chronological classification of his correspondence, it remains merely to allude to the recreation derived by him from literary pursuits and from the beauties of nature.

We have already seen him applying to Cardinal Gonzaga, to prevent the book trade at Mantua from publishing spurious editions of Cardinal Bembo's works. Mention has been also made of the dedication to him of Vida's "*De Dignitate Reipublicæ*," the scene of which is laid in the Madrucci Villa at Trent, where during the summer of 1545, after toiling for the Council during business hours, Pole took his evening relaxation in the garden there. At that time he was threatened with assassination, in like manner as ten years previously his happiness at the Benedictine Grange, in the Euganean Hills, was disturbed by the menacing efforts of Cromwell and Tunstall to convert him from the faith in which he had been born and educated.

After his return from Trent we find him in October 1546 writing to Vittoria Colonna from Padua, congratulating himself on his delight in the house there of

Cardinal Bembo, "where" (thus he expresses himself) "in the first place I enjoy as much security and mental ease as if it were my father's; and secondly, such convenience that I, at present, could not desire better, most especially of two things in which I have always greatly delighted, *a study and a garden*, both of which I have found in such perfection here, that to my taste I should be unable to find more beautiful ones anywhere else."

The hopes of Charles V. that Paul IV. would "abstain from playing his mad pranks" were not verified; the Pope continued to fortify Rome, regardless of sacred edifices, secular palaces, or Farnesian gardens. In pity for the destruction of these last, Cardinal Pole wrote from England to his friend the soldier and military engineer Camillo Orsini; and he most pathetically informed Alessandro Farnese that the destruction of his trees caused him more pain than he ever could have believed himself capable of feeling for such a loss, even had they been planted with his own hands; and that although he was aware of being "very sensual" (*assai sensuale*) in his passion for gardens and trees, his grief was also caused by that which he thought must be felt by Cardinal Farnese, and because those trees seemed to him to embellish the whole of Rome.¹ In the same month of September 1556, when that letter was written, Cardinal

¹ The years 1556, 1557, were fatal to the gardens of the Papal nephews in Rome. In 1503, Niccolò Fieschi was made Cardinal by Alexander VI., and had a garden, which, at some unknown period after his death in 1524, was purchased by Cardinal Carlo Caraffa; and on the 17th September 1557, the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, wrote a paragraph about it, as follows, when describing the inundation of the Tiber:—

"Ha affondato il giardino che fù già del Cardinale Visco (*sic*) et hora era le dilitie del Cardinal Caraffa."

Pole took Queen Mary over his own archiepiscopal gardens at Lambeth.

§

It remains for me to give account of the contents of my Appendix, which numbers 130 documents, dated from the year 1363 to 1556, and now existing in the archives of Venice and Modena, in St. Mark's Library, and in the Correr Museum. The abstracts of these documents will appear at the end of the second part of this volume.

In the supplement to my preceding volume (pp. 600-610), there were earlier notices of Sir John Hawkwood's negotiations with the Republic than those previously published by me, the documents ranging from the 23rd May to the 10th November 1376; and it will now be seen that thirteen years previously English soldiers aided the State of Venice to quell revolt in Candia. The contract was facilitated by "John the Englishman," and as Hawkwood was then in Italy defending Pisa against Florence,¹ it is possible that, during a truce, he may have come over to Venice to recommend his fellow-soldier, the "Lord Thomas," also an Englishman, but whose surname is in like manner unrecorded in the Signory's registers.

On the 10th April 1364, the Lord Thomas embarked at Lido with his 110 Englishmen, and the expedition returned in triumph on the 4th of June following, when Petrarch chanced to be at Venice, and in one of his letters describing the tournament held on St. Mark's Square in honour of this victory, he says that amongst the tilters were some English lords, the kinsfolk of Edward the Third. It is probable that he alluded to Hugh de la Zouche and Andrew de Beaumont, who both claimed royal descent, and who, in May 1364, deserted the Pisans for the Florentines.

¹ See "Memoirs of Sir John Hawkwood" (London, 1782, pp. 6, 7).

It may reasonably be asked where Zouche and Beaumont could stable their war horses in Venice. The question is answered by the next entry, showing that at that period, on the site of the present prisons, which were built by the architect Antonio Da Ponte in the year 1589, one "John the Englishman" kept an inn, whose sign was "the Dragon," nor could it be mistaken for any other than St. George's. All the English pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land consequently patronised "mine host" of the Dragon, who in March 1365 accommodated the pilgrim Sir Henry Stromyn, his retinue, and his horses. Sir Henry's head groom, "Robin the Englishman," having struck a Venetian for defiling his charges' litter, the unclean intruder stabbed the faithful servant to the heart with a bread-knife. The account of the inquest and deposition, which is still preserved in the Venetian Archives, enables me to add a paragraph about English life in Italy in the fourteenth century, illustrating the respect exacted by a trusty servant for his master and his master's cattle. These circumstances, together with Sir Henry Stromyn's translation to the "Lord of the night watch" of poor Robin's "*get out*," by "*vade foras*," form a touching and idiomatic narrative describing exactly what took place near the "Ponte della paglia" at the vesper hour on the 3rd of March 1365.

At that period we hear less of pilgrims at Venice than of soldiers. In April 1377, Nicolò, Marquis of Este, gave Jacky (*Zanechino*) Penreth a passport for himself and ten comrades, on their way through his territory, to and from Venice; and in 1386 Dame Hawkwood wrote to the Marquis's consort, Verde della Scala, announcing the birth of Sir John's first-born legitimate son.

In the year 1866, Sir Thomas Hardy, in his "Report upon the Documents in the Archives and Public

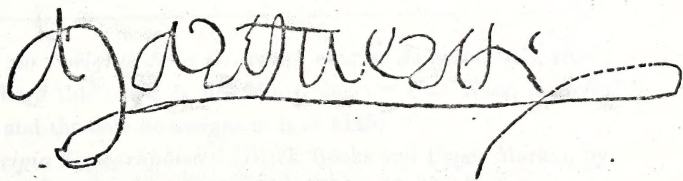
“ Libraries of Venice,” alluded to “the interest taken
“ by George I. about state papers there, required for
“ Leibnitz, who was writing a history of *the German*
“ *branch of the House of Este*; the King also applying
“ to the State in favour of Muratori, he being similarly
“ occupied by order of the Duke of Modena on behalf of
“ *the Italian branch*; but on second thoughts, his Majesty
“ delicately modified this last request, lest it should
“ interfere with the Signory’s territorial claims.”

Acting upon this hint, received from so able a pioneer,
I have succeeded in connecting the Crown of England
with the House of Este by an uninterrupted series of
historical documents, commencing with John Hawkwood
and his wife Donnina Visconti in 1377, and ending with
an embassy to Queen Mary in 1554.

The four first Marquises of Este thus brought into juxtaposition with England from 1377 to 1450, bore originally the title of “Vicar of the See Apostolic in Ferrara.” Marquis Leonello took for his second wife Maria, natural daughter of Alfonso of Aragon, who expelled René of Anjou from Naples on the 1st of June 1442. On the 30th May 1445 King René’s daughter Marguerite was crowned Queen of England in Westminster Hall; her consort was a Plantagenet; and as an Earl of Anjou, one of her ancestors, first gave that august name to his descendants in the 10th century, no objection could be raised to the marriage on account of lineage, although her father had so recently lost the kingdom of Naples. That the first letter written from England by the Princess of *Anjou* to a foreign potentate should be addressed to the *Aragonese* Marchioness of Este, whose parent had so recently dethroned King René, cannot but cause surprise, which will give way to other sentiments when it is seen that Marguerite stifled all personal rancour for the sake

of an English student at the University of Ferrara. Thus early in her tempestuous reign did the beautiful young queen, then in her eighteenth year, show how warmly she espoused the interests of her new subjects, evincing at the same time that care for men of letters which developed itself yet more strongly in 1448, when she founded Queen's College in Cambridge. The name of the youth in favour of whom Margaret of Anjou wrote to her cousin Maria of Aragon, sending her a little present of "an ambling hobby," was Reynold Chicheley, who came of so good a city family that in 1411 and 1421 it supplied London with the Lord Mayors of those two years, having previously provided Canterbury with an archbishop, the exemplary Henry Chicheley, whose nephew, John Chicheley, filled the post of Chamberlain of London when Margaret of Anjou recommended his son to Maria of Aragon.¹

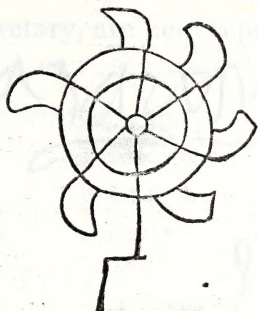
The letter was written from Eltham on the 27th November, apparently in the year 1446. The date of the year is wanting, and beneath the Queen's signature, of which I give the following facsimile,



there is no counter-signature by a secretary, an omission attributable perhaps to the Queen's household not having then been completely formed, or to the fact of her consort being at Westminster when she wrote it. The water-mark

¹ John Chicheley, of Well-hall, citizen and Chamberlain of London, who died 1446, son and heir to William Chicheley, Esq., alderman and citizen and grocer of London, brother to Archbishop Chicheley. (Collins, VII. 79.)

of the paper on which it is written is a toothed wheel with a lever, thus :—



showing that the Queen's stationer was most probably a native of Holland.¹

The gentle and endearing tone of the missive did not fail to take effect on Maria of Aragon, for on the 10th May [1447]² Queen Margaret wrote to her cousin, Leonello of Este, from London, saying she had just heard from her well-beloved familiar John Chicheley, citizen and Chamberlain of London, that the Marquis had appointed his son Reynold to the renowned office of rector of the "alimantal University" of Ferrara (*insigne officium rec-*

¹ See "*Essai sur l'origine de la Gravure*" etc., by Jansen (Paris, 1808) Vol. I. p. 384, where this mark is described thus: "*Une Roue dentelée avec un levier*," and the date he assigns to it is 1449.

In the "*Principia Typographica*" (Block Books and Paper Marks), by Samuel Leigh Sotheby (London, 1858), Vol. III., p. 53, Mr. Sotheby says:—"The *Registrum Commiss. Burgundie* affords the earliest instance we have met with of this mark. The papers in that volume range from 1428 to 1453. . . . In an autograph letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury (1443-50), in the Tower of London, occurs a mark of very similar form." Mr. Sotheby's illustration of the "toothed wheel" shows that it had a *single* circle, while the mark on Queen Margaret's letter bore a *double* one; so her Majesty and the Primate seem both to have patronized the same papermaker.

² This second letter from the Queen, like the first, is on paper, without any year-date, which I supply through the missive from the King, on the same subject, to the same person.

toratus almi studii in urbe vestra Ferrariense), for which she returned most hearty thanks.

The Queen's signature to this second letter, and that of her secretary, are here reproduced :—

This direct intercourse between the Houses of Lancaster and Este was confirmed by Henry VI., who on the same day wrote a letter of thanks from Windsor Castle to Marquis Leonello for having conferred the post of rector of his university on an English subject, alluding also to the additional satisfaction caused him by this honour from the fact of his having been christened by Reynold's great-uncle, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Again, in 1449, when the rector brought a letter from the Marquis to the King, it was answered from London on the 29th November, cordially confirming the goodwill then prevalent between the two potentates.¹ The character of Margaret of Anjou, on her first arrival in England, is thus drawn by her own pen, and this brief correspondence also affords proof that if the soldiers of England sought renown in Italy, her students likewise succeeded in obtaining it.²

¹ These two letters of Henry VI. are on parchment; they do not bear his sign-manual.

² I have dwelt on Chicheley's foreign dignity because, in Borsetti's History of the University of Ferrara, which was published in 1735, there is no mention of his rectorship, though by an entry in Borsetti's first volume (p. 139) it appears that in 1502 the seats of the English members

Maria of Aragon died at Ferrara on the 9th December 1449, and her consort survived until October of the following year. He was succeeded by Borso of Este, who was created first Duke of Ferrara by Pope Pius II., on Easter Day, 1471, having previously been made Duke of Reggio and Modena by Frederick III. on the 18th May 1452. In 1457 we find him, at the commencement of the Wars of the Roses, sending to England for horses; the proximity of dates rendering it probable that Queen Margaret's present had not only called attention, "in proud Italy," to the classical acquirements of one of her subjects, but also founded there the repute of her English stud. Duke Borso's letter on that occasion merely desires the Ferrarese ambassador at Milan to procure from Francesco Sforza a pass for his messenger to England, but it forms a link in the relations between the Estes and the Plantagenets.

To pass from employment obtained by Englishmen in Italy to presents received thence by our sovereigns, and which may possibly connect themselves with the art treasures so munificently collected during her present Majesty's reign, especially the numerous chests and coffers in the South Kensington Museum, painted by Italian artists of the 15th century, I have given an elaborate account in my Appendix of the sweetmeats and liqueurs, stowed in old Venetian earthenware and glass, and packed in painted chests, which were shipped on board the "Flanders galleys" bound to London.

The earliest record that I have found of these dainties

of the University of Ferrara were repaired, they having been originally erected on the site of the Shoemakers' Guildhall; so that all we know of Reynold Chicheley's academical honours abroad, rests on the authority of his far-famed patroness Margaret of Anjou.

is dated 14th June 1458, when the Signory of Venice sent Henry VI. four butts of malmsey and two painted chests (half of their contents being destined apparently for Margaret of Anjou), the one containing forty majolica pots of syruiped confections, viz., green ginger, melon, and quince, and the other twenty gourd-shaped gilt-glass flasks of "Rosolio," now called "Maraschino," and probably imported from the Republic's city of Zara, where the liqueur is at present flavoured with the cherry kernel instead of the rose leaf. The same galley conveyed two butts of malmsey for the Chancellor, William de Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester; and two butts for the Treasurer, James, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

Of the designs of these painted chests, or of their cost, I have been unable to find any record, but as on this same voyage the "Lion galley" landed a painted chest for Philip the Good at Bruges, where, in the year 1458, there were many famous Flemish artists, it may be supposed that for the honour of the State these wooden receptacles were decorated by their Venetian contemporaries, Bartolomeo and Luigi Vivarini, and by Jacopo Bellini and his sons, Gentile and Giovanni. The glass vessels were probably wrought by the Baroviero family; and the glazed majolica containing the sweetmeats was doubtless by those same Venetian potters, of whose works specimens are still visible in the church of St. Giobbe at Venice.

In 1459 and 1460, similar presents were sent to Henry VI. and to his Chancellor and Treasurer, Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Viscount Bouchier.

From the year 1461, when Edward IV. assumed the crown, down to July 1468, the Signory's annual presents,

shipped on board the Flanders galleys for the Crown of England, were continued. The painted chests, from first to last, were in number 22, and the specimens of old glass and majolica amounted to several thousands. We may hope that, with the help of these dates, the curators of the South Kensington Museum may be enabled to tell us that some fragments of these gifts are still the property of the nation.¹

Whilst the Signory were shipping at Venice the first painted chests for Edward IV., two Venetian merchants, by name Diedo and Foscari, were publicly absolved in London from the charge of having defrauded the King's Customs, and the process is so descriptive of city manners and usages a century before the erection of the "Exchange" by the "usurer" Gresham,—for such was he styled by his contemporary, James Basset,² who probably knew more about him than Mr. Burgon, and says distinctly that Gresham's charge of eleven or twelve in the hundred was "intolerable,"—that the following particulars respecting an English merchant prince at the time of the Wars of the Roses require no apology.

In the year 1461, one of the great city authorities, although he had never been Lord Mayor, was Sir John Fry, whose son, Sir Richard Fry, Knight, married a Plantagenet, namely, Joan, daughter of Edmund, Duke of Somerset (who was slain in the battle of St. Alban's, May 22nd, 1455), and widow of Sir Robert St. Lawrence,

¹ In the Museum Catalogue (p. 130) the coffer No. 58 is said to be "*Venetian, of the 15th century,*" and we are told that "the style of the decorations is that of the Mantovini (*sic*) in their work at Sta. Maria dell' Orto in Venice." The height of this coffer is 2 ft. 5 in., L. 2 ft., W. 18 in., but the dimensions of the painted chests sent by the Republic of Venice to Henry VI. and Edward IV. are not given in the registers from which my entries are transcribed.

² See pp. 255, 256 of this volume.

Baron of Howth in Ireland.¹ Sir John Fry dwelt in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less in the city of London, his orchard-garden? (*"arcineus gardinum"*—sic) being the resort where merchants most did congregate. All the important business of the London mart was apparently transacted under the arcades "of the well-known usual dwelling of the nobleman Sir John Fry," where, on the 7th June 1461, the noble Venetians Diedo and Foscari were restored to fair fame. A notarial act was drawn up on the spot to that effect by John Hyde, their slanderers abjuring what they had asserted. The witnesses to the recantation were the Venetian consul, Sir Thomas Walgrave, Sir Maurice Arundel, skinner, William Woortely, and others. Such were the forms of penance, with damages for defamation, patriarchally ordained by the London merchants in Sir John Fry's garden, in lieu of sounding bell or trumpet, as was done on Gresham's Exchange at a later period.

The mode of protesting bills in London, in Sir John Fry's time, is also worth recording. The person on whom the dishonoured bill was drawn, or his agent, accompanied by a notary public and two witnesses, went with it to one of the many city scriveners, whose dwellings for the most part were situated in Lombard Street, and presenting the bill to him, after repeating that he refused payment of it, he then on the threshold of the scrivener's office inquired whether any of the bystanders would disburse the bill's amount, expressing his readiness to receive it, and no answer being given him, he "protested" against its drawer, and against all other persons concerned in the transaction; this notarial process being completed by a

¹ The marriage is recorded by Collins, I. 223-224, ed. London, 1812, but he does not date the ceremony, neither does he allude to Sir Richard Fry's father.

bill-broker's certificate, stating the number of English silver pennies required in London for the purchase of a Venetian gold sequin. The "protest" quoted by me is dated London, 17th January 1459, when the sequin was worth 41½*d.* sterling, the bill having been bought in Venice on the 17th October 1458, at the rate of 48 pence per sequin, and the amount of the bill being 500 sequins, payable in London, in silver.¹

To return to the intercourse between the House of Este and the Crown of England, I have already mentioned that Marquis Leonello of Este, the correspondent of Margaret of Anjou and Henry of Lancaster, was succeeded by Borso, the first Duke of Ferrara. In December 1467, one of his intelligencers resident at Bruges gave him the first news of the expected marriage between Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV. The intelligencer, whose name seems to have been Chiexia, informed the Duke of Ferrara that the time of its celebration was uncertain, the Duke of Burgundy demanding as security for payment of the bride's dower (although it was only 200,000 crowns), eighteen personages, namely, six English bishops, six (*sic*) Irish archbishops, and six peers of the realm, to be selected by himself. By the end of the month it seems that these terms were modified, though he still insisted on receiving 50,000 crowns

¹ On the 17th April 1460, the notary William Styfford protested a bill in Lombard Street *ante domum habitationis Humphry Hayford, civis et aurifaber Londini, in vico de Lombard strete, ubi mercatores de diversis nacionibus solent cotidie congregare*. In "The Merchant of Venice" (act 1, scene 3) Shylock describes the "Campo of S. Giacomo" (the Exchange of Venice) as the place "where merchants most do congregate," which phrase was probably derived from the formula of notarial protests in London. The site of the absolution given to the two merchants of Venice on the 7th June 1461, is described in the original, thus:—"*In quodam claustro sive circuito circumvolvens (sic), sive arcineus (sic) gardinum, infra domum solite habitationis nobilis viri Johannis Efrai (sic) militis in parochiâ Sancti Bartholomei minoris civitatis Londoniensis notorie situate.*"

on the wedding day, and another 50,000 within six months from that time, the residue to be disbursed in two years at the rate of 50,000 crowns annually.¹

Chiexia adds, that as the bride was to be sent to Bruges entirely at the cost of Edward IV., the Duke of Burgundy's regard for economy would also prevent him from giving the grand entertainments which had been expected. But the Ferrarese intelligencer also states, that at the close of 1467, Warwick and all his adherents had left the Court for their country seats, owing to the King Maker's brother, George Neville, Archbishop of York, having been deprived of the Chancellorship, and because the Wideville family then ruled despotically. It may therefore be supposed that the Duke of Burgundy, knowing how much his support was needed by Edward IV., dispensed with all complimentary expenditure when marrying his sister.

Chiexia's anticipation of turmoil in England seems to have been disregarded by Borso of Este, Duke of Ferrara, who, unlike Marquis Leonello, cared more for his stud than he did for his university, and regardless of the Wars of the Roses, sent his master of the horse, by name Biasio de Biragho, to make a second purchase of hobbies in England. On the 11th of October 1470, Biragho wrote to the Duke from Bruges, that whilst waiting at Calais for his passage, in the preceding month of September, the Earl of Warwick on the 24th² sailed thence with 3,000 Englishmen to reinstate King Henry VI., and having

¹ The chronicler Hall states that Margaret of York was then "a lady of excellent beantie, and yet more of womanhode then beantie, and more of vertue then womanhode," although at a later period, when she protected Perkin Warbeck, he called her the "pesteferus serpent Lady Margaret, Duchess of Burgoyne."

² I do not find this precise date (24th September 1470) of the departure from Calais of the Earl of Warwick, in Hall, Hume, or Lingard; neither do they state the amount of his forces.

landed in England, routed Edward, who on the 11th October (Biragho writes) was already at the Hague; the Earl of Warwick in the meanwhile having marched to London, "where he was received as if he had been a God, and then, with the consent of the populace, he went to take King Henry out of prison, and made him King again, the whole of England shouting 'Henry' and 'Warwick' (*e tuta quanta la Inghiltera crida Henricho e Varich*)."

Without alluding to the treachery of the Gascon Vaucler, the deputy-governor of Calais, towards King Edward,¹ Biragho merely says that Calais rebelled immediately, and shouted "Warwick," and that Vaucler tried to give him courage; but such was his fear lest Charles the Bold should lay siege to Calais that he made his escape with difficulty to Bruges. From that city he writes to Duke Borso that when able to cross in safety he would bring some good hobbies from England for him and for "Messer Hercule," adding that "as fortune willed it thus, he would find means to form some fresh contrivance" (*qualche trama nuova*). This closing sentence is enigmatical; it may possibly imply that Biragho's mission combined hobbies and politics, and that the dynasty of York having given way to Lancaster, he would therefore communicate certain wishes of the House of Este to Henry VI. instead of to Edward IV.

I am unable to ascertain whether Biragho realised his intention of going to England in the year 1470, but in 1471, on the death of Duke Borso, he remained in the service of his half-brother and successor Duke Hercules, who in 1479 sent him to Edward IV., not

¹ Hume, ii. 399, 400; 404, ed. London, 1762.

only for permission to purchase hobbies in Ireland, but also to obtain the Garter, he being the first member of the House of Este whose aspiration to that honour is openly avowed, though from what Biragho wrote about "some fresh contrivance" in October 1470, it is possible that Duke Borso anticipated the desire of his successor.

Biragho arrived in London on the 28th June 1479, and went immediately to Anthony Wideville, Lord Scales, to whom he confided the wish of Duke Hercules, and was presented by him to the King, with whom he conversed for more than an hour, asking him for a passport for Ireland, from which place he hoped to bring the Duke "something to his liking" (*cossa piazzarà a vostra magnificentia*), evidently alluding to "hobbies," though he omits the word. He then says that the vacancy of the Garter was caused by the death of Charles the Bold in January 1477, and that he Biragho had so "contrived" with Biasio (*tramato con Biasio*), apparently some Italian of influence in the household of Edward IV., that as the Duke's sole competitor was the King of Spain, he believed that the Duke would have the greater number of votes.

What success the Ferrarese master of the horse had in Ireland with regard to hobbies is unknown, but he "contrived" so well about the Garter that in the following year King Edward IV. sent it to Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, by Sir Lawrence Raynsford, Knight, and the letter of thanks (the original draft of which was transcribed for me in the archives at Modena) expresses due sense of the great honour conferred on the head of the House of Este by King Edward IV.¹

¹ It commences, "*Sacra et Serma. Regia Maiestas, Pater et Domine mi obsecrandissime,*" and ends thus: "*filius et servitor Hercules Dux Ferrarie, Matine, et Regij, Marchio Estensis, Comesque Rodigij, &c.*"

For nineteen years I can show no proof of direct intercourse between the Houses of York and Este, but in 1498 Biragho, being still in the service of Duke Hercules, was sent by him to England, and from the first of our Tudor kings we learn that the Ferrarese master of the horse was again commissioned to purchase hobbies in Ireland. By the King's own letter, dated Cambridge, 3rd September 1498, addressed to his "very " dear brother and friend the Lord Hercules, Duke of " Ferrara," he thanks him for his present of two choice falcons, and alludes to having given their bearer, Biragho, a passport for Ireland, and a warm letter of recommendation to his Lord Deputy there, desiring him to facilitate Biragho's purchase and exportation of hobbies (*equos obinos*). The King remarks, however, that owing to the wars of the wild Irish amongst themselves, there was a great scarcity of good horses in that island.

"The league between his Highness and Ferrara,"

like every other line penned by Shakspeare, has remained a national phrase from the day he wrote it until now, but it is less generally known that six months after the commission was given at Amiens on the 26th August 1527,¹

"To Gregory de Cassalis, to conclude,"

there arrived in London a Ferrarese ambassador from Duke Alfonso of Este to demand compliance with the articles of that league, which stipulated for him the protection of England against any attack from Charles V. The name of this diplomatist was Ferruffino, and the only printed notice I have ever found of him may be read in Mr. Brewer's Calendar, Henry VIII., Vol. IV., part II., p. 1629, No. 3624, showing that he bore credentials

¹ See Venetian Calendar, IV. pp. 87, 88.

to the King from Duke Alfonso's son, "Cardinal Hippolytus da Este, Archbishop of Milan."

No mention whatever is made of Ferruffino's being accredited to Henry VIII. by the head of the House of Este, but this entry, 3624, is confirmed by one in my Appendix, showing that amongst his other instructions received from Duke Alfonso were the following:—

"In the name of my sons" (Don Ercole II., Cardinal Ippolito II., and Don Francesco of Este) "you will kiss the hands of the aforesaid most potent King and right reverend Legate, *and in virtue of their letters of credence, and as they will have ordered you by word of mouth*, you will return due thanks, recommending them to his Majesty and to his right reverend lordship, as their most devoted servants."

When leaving Ferrara for England on the 30th November 1527, Ferruffino received from his master two papers of instructions, of one of which, relating to the welfare of his duchy and of his children, I have already given the substance; the contents of the other relate exclusively to his own personal tastes, which resembled those of his ancestors.¹

This second paper, dated Ferrara, 30th November 1527, desired him, after having been a few days in England, to ask the King's permission to purchase in Ireland, and to export thence, eight hobby-mares and two hobby-stallions, to breed from, and to request his Majesty to desire his master of the horse (Sir Nicholas Carew), for whom he

¹ It would almost appear that the widower of Lucrezia Borgia, and the whole House of Este from the year 1445 to 1527, had never forgotten the "ambling hobby" taken by the student Reynold Chicheley to Maria of Aragon in the name of Margaret of Anjou; but that Duke Alfonso could make a handsome acknowledgment was proved in March 1515 by his sending to Henry VIII. a live leopard and a very fine horse. (See Venetian Calendar, II., p. 241.) The historian of Ferrara adds that the horse's trappings were of gold, and that this princely gift also comprised three trained falcons. (Frizzi, IV. 260.)

also gave Feruffino a letter of credence, to facilitate this matter.

On the 1st of May 1528, Duke Alfonso's falconer Ludovico, and one of his grooms, arrived in London to take charge of the hobbies, which had not yet been purchased, and when Feruffino presented Ludovico to Henry VIII., the King, after inquiring about Duke Alfonso's health, said, laughing, "Master Louis, you are come into this country and have not brought me a falcon."¹ He was a man of ready wit, and replied that he had brought a falcon for the King's household but not for his Majesty, who at any rate could dispense with it for the present, as it was the moulting season. The falconer remained in England until September, and then departed with Yorkshire mares, and one very handsome dark brown Irish hobby. This entire stud was a free gift from Henry VIII. to his cousin of Este, it having been impossible to purchase hobbies in Ireland, which was in the same state as in 1498;² but Sir Nicholas Carew assured Feruffino that the English breed of horses excelled that of Ireland. The letter containing Carew's opinion of the comparative merits of English and Irish horses is dated 17th August 1528. It also contains a paragraph connecting the non-observance of the articles of "the league between his Highness and Ferrara," with Anne Boleyn, thus:—

"The delay in the matter of the *ratification* and *protection*

¹ This familiar form of speech implies that "Master Louis" was an old acquaintance, and probably in 1515 he had been in the hawking field with the King, to put the three Este falcons through their volations to the best advantage.

² In the "Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland," published in 1860, it is stated that in this month of May 1528, "Lord Delvin having been taken prisoner by O'Connor, the Council appointed Sir Thomas Fitzgerald to be Deputy *ad interim*."

practised by the King and Cardinal, with such manifest regard for the Pope, is owing to the new marriage, rather than to any other cause; which marriage is expected eventually to take place, and when effected, the King, after obtaining what he wants from the Pope, will do by your Excellency what is due to you."

Feruffino remained in England until the fall of Cardinal Wolsey in October 1529, and his despatches written thence to Alfonso of Este, Duke of Ferrara, printed in my Appendix, are in number 23.

The next Este document obtained by me from the archives at Modena, is dated London, 26th February 1547, and is addressed to Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara, who succeeded his father Alfonso I. on the 1st of November 1534. The writer, Lodovico Montio, by birth a Ferrarese, had been in the service of Henry VIII., and I suspect him to be the individual whose name in the Household Book of Edward VI. is inscribed "Lodovico Montro, Italian."¹ Montio seems to have been a great admirer of his deceased master, but professes vassallage and adoration for his sole liege lord of the House of Este, to whom he gives account of the funeral of Henry VIII. and of his successor's coronation. It is known that the body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall, but what made most impression on Montio was the waxwork figure of the King wrought to the life, and most sumptuously apparelled, its robes being covered with precious stones, of which he said he counted upwards of 500 of inestimable price. He commences his narrative by saying that he "leaves the corpse at Windsor," whither it seems to have been conveyed some days previously by Sir William Herbert and Sir Anthony Denny;² and he then proceeds to describe the obsequies,

¹ See Trevelyan Papers prior to A.D. 1558, p. 196 (Camden Society Publication, 1857).

² "At the funeral of Henry VIII., this Sir William Herbert and Sir Anthony Denny were the only two that were carried in the chariot with

which lasted for twenty days, there being one hearse at Westminster, another at Sion, and a third, the grandest of all, at Windsor. He says that all the peers of the realm attended "the masses and offices," and at the close of the ceremony at Westminster, the waxen figure in its jewelled robes was placed on a stately chariot (*carro*) drawn by eight horses in black velvet mourning, like the pages that accompanied it. On arriving at Sion, the effigy passed the night above or beneath the second hearse, and then after being on view at Windsor from the third hearse, during the funeral there, which lasted for two days, the mass being said by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (*celebrante l'arcivescovo*), the corpse in its coffin (as known on English authority)¹ "was interred in the midst of "the choir, near the body of Jane Seymour, by Stephen "Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester."

Montio, on his return to London, witnessed the coronation of Edward VI., which took place on the 20th February. He enters into details of the ceremony, informing Duke Hercules that when Cranmer, in the act of anointing the young prince, told him, amongst other things, that he was to promise to defend his people and the Church of God with the sword, the ingenuous youth inquired "What church?" (*che chiesa?*) and when the Archbishop explained his meaning to be "the faithful "and the Gospel," the young King replied that with his whole heart would he do so.

Montio then expresses his opinion of the great importance of the new Sovereign, saying that he had offered condolence and congratulation to Secretary Petre

"the royal corpse to Windsor, and were continually waiting there till the "interment."—Collins's Peerage, III., 116, ed. London, 1812. The authority quoted by Collins for the foregoing paragraph is "Strype's Memorials in Reposit., p. 9."

¹ See Lingard, V., 117, foot-note.

and Protector Somerset, in the name of Duke Hercules II., whose brother-in-law the King of France having hinted to the Venetian ambassador that King Edward was "very close,"¹ it is probable that anticipating no profit, he deferred sending an embassy to England until the accession of Queen Mary, when he sent congratulations on her marriage to the Prince of Spain.

The person appointed to perform this office by Hercules II. of Este, fourth Duke of Ferrara, was Count Camillo Montecucolo, who arrived in London on the 7th June 1554, and presented himself immediately to the Queen's prime minister, Bishop Gardiner, who seems to have procured audience for him at Richmond on the 11th, but I have been unable to find any account of it. His next letter, dated London, 10th July 1554, mentions the Emperor's order (to which I have already alluded at p. xxxix) for the ambassadors to remain in London, and not to go to Richmond or to any other place, to pay their respects to Queen Mary, until after Philip's arrival in England. The only additional news given by the Ferrarese ambassador is that the Regent Figueroa had arrived in London on his way to Spain, bringing with him a quantity of hangings which the Emperor had caused to be wrought at Antwerp in thread of gold, silver, and silk, as a present for the King Consort.

Here I close my account of the documents contained in the Appendix, and which illustrate the relations between the Italian branch of the House of Este and the Houses of Plantagenet, Lancaster, York, and Tudor.

The imperfections of this volume, and of the five that

¹ See Venetian Calendar, VI., 592.

preceded it, were much diminished by the two oldest and ablest of my Venetian literary friends, the Signori "Commendatore" Giovanni Veludo, and "Cavaliere" Giovanni Battista Lorenzi. To Signor Lorenzi, now Vice-Librarian of the Marciana, I have been debtor for counsel and advice in historical matters during 40 years, and from the day his superior, the "Prefetto" Veludo, first took office in St. Mark's Library in 1849, he has always allowed me, for avoidance of error and solution of doubts, to have recourse to his classical acquirements and innate acumen, which have enabled me to form lucid conjectures about many obscure passages in the various manuscripts which it was my duty to render intelligible.

The present Director of the Venetian Archives, Signor "Commendatore" Bartolomeo Cecchetti, has shown himself no less anxious than his deceased predecessors, the Venetian patrician Girolamo Dandolo, and the Signori Gar and Toderini, to facilitate the work entrusted to me; and of their most indefatigable assistant, Signor Luigi Pasini, I will only say that he has conferred on himself a diploma—Her Majesty's placet munificently ratifying it—by explaining despatches which had remained unintelligible for three centuries; nor would the mystery have been revealed even now, had not the late Master of the Rolls, Lord Romilly, in 1866 encouraged him to attempt their elucidation; the accomplishment of which task has morally galvanized a vast mass of Venetian despatches.

To the second-class assistant in the Marciana, the noble Camillo Soranzo, I am indebted for several letters in my Appendix, addressed to the renowned apostate Pietro Paolo Vergerio, before he changed his creed, by several cardinals, including Nicholas Schomberg, whose

sister, the nun, married Martin Luther; and Vergerio's reply to the request of his correspondents, that he would intercede with the King of the Romans for the release of the English ambassador, Prothonotary Casal, shows clearly that he did not deserve it, having been sent into Hungary by Henry VIII. for the sole purpose of injuring the House of Austria.

When first I commenced calendaring in 1864, I alluded to my obligations to the Signor "Cavaliere" Cesare Foucard, who was then employed in the Venetian Archives; he subsequently became director of various State paper offices in Italy, including that of Modena, and last year he considerably increased my debt of gratitude by sending to me thence the Este documents now printed in my present Appendix.

To my English assistant, Mr. R. E. Gent Kirk, whose patient and intelligent assiduity have never failed me throughout the publication of this long series of historical documents, I reiterate my very hearty thanks, and leave his ability to be judged by the method displayed in the indexes to this work.

Last of all (though not the less deep in my memory), it would be shameful ingratitude were I to omit mentioning the very great help derived by me with regard to foreign nomenclature from an indubitably English source. In the year 1861, an eminent barrister of Lincoln's Inn, Mr. William Hackett, did not disdain to cheer his leisure hours by compiling the index to the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar of the reign of Queen Mary. The discernment and accuracy of that index foreshadowed the jurist who, in 1875 (having then become Sir William Hackett), was commissioned by Her Majesty to form a code for the Fiji Islands. On his way out to the Pacific for that purpose, passing through Venice, I had the

pleasure of a visit from him; his anonymous index had been within arm's length of my writing table ever since 1872, when I commenced collecting documents relating to the period embraced by it. Daily did I bless its compiler for all the instruction he imparted to me, without knowing who he was; and when in the course of conversation it transpired that my accidental visitor had been so long my daily benefactor, to shake him by the hand and give him thanks by word of mouth for such profitable fellowship was one of those pleasant satisfactions the remembrance of which is indelible. On the 5th of January last I had again the good fortune to see Sir William Hackett, when embarking at Venice for Ceylon, he having been recently appointed Lord Chief Justice there. In the law-court over which he now presides this appreciation of his former historic toil will appear to him insignificant, but I cannot refrain from recording my sense of it, by so much the more as it reflects honour on a grand national work undertaken by the Public Record Office.¹

RAWDON BROWN.

Cà Gussoni (now Casa della Vida), Venice,

26th February 1877.

¹ While this Preface was passing through the press, a telegram from Ceylon, dated 18th May, announced the death of Sir William Hackett at Colombo, from cholera.

VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1555.

1555.

Jan. 2.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

1. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF VITERBO, Nuncio in France.

Has received his letters of the 26th ulto., delivered by the brother of the French ambassador,* both of whom came to Pole last evening and delivered to him their King's most gracious letter in reply to what Pole wrote to his most Christian Majesty, who thereby shows himself most truly deserving of his title. He also gave him a letter from the Constable in conformity with the noble and pious disposition of his master. The ambassador also confirmed the Nuncio's account of the good opinion of King Philip and Queen Mary entertained at the French Court, and also of the constant desire of his most Christian Majesty for peace and the common weal. To-day Pole narrated the whole to King Philip and Queen Mary, alluding also to what the Nuncio wrote to him about the "deputation" (*deputatione*); and after some conversation on the subject, the King told Pole he would write to the King of France about it, evincing the best possible disposition, as he does in whatever relates to works of piety. Has written about this to the Nuncio at Brussels, that he may speak in conformity with what Pole said to their Majesties, and knows that he will not fail to use his best endeavours for the desired end, according to the intention of his Holiness, and in furtherance of the common weal. Will acquaint the Bishop of Viterbo with the result, and requests him humbly to kiss King Henry's hands in his name, thanking him much for his great graciousness towards Pole, and returning due thanks to the French ministers, to whom he will not fail to write when any suitable occasion presents itself.

From London, 2nd January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 2.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

2. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF CONZA [Girolamo Muzzarelli, Papal Nuncio with the Emperor].

Conza will already have heard of the hint about peace which Pole dropped to the King of France, availing himself of the congratulations on the auspicious reconciliation of England to the Church. Pole performed the like office with the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine, and has now received their replies, as Conza will perceive by the enclosed copies. Communicated these letters to-day

* This brother of the French ambassador was François de Noailles, prothonotary, and bishop of Aqqs. (See Mr. William Hackett's admirable Index to the late Mr. Turbull's Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558.)

1555.

to King Philip and Queen Mary, as also what he wrote to the King of France, telling them also what else he had been able to elicit from the French ambassador when he presented him the letters yesterday, which was in short in conformity with the contents of the letter from the Nuncio in France, namely, that he considers it certain that should the Emperor assuredly be content to do the like, his King would be induced (*si redduria*) to send two personages to any neutral place to treat for peace; and when Pole asked him what he meant by a "neutral place," he said some place near Calais. Pole then inquired whether he considered England a neutral place, and as the ambassador replied affirmatively, Pole endeavoured moreover to learn some particulars, in case the project be realized, most especially as the ambassador's brother, who has now come to England, was with him, and as he is mentioned in the King's letter. They said they had no further instructions, and that the negotiation embracing many topics, it was impossible to come to any conclusion by messengers or letters, but that they hoped for a good result by means of such a deputation of persons of note and authority; saying, however, that he spoke of this particular without any commission, though he believed, etc., and showing, in short, that his King has a good opinion of the King and Queen, and places great trust in them. After having mentioned all this to their Majesties, King Philip told Pole he would write to the Emperor, nor will Conza fail to perform such offices at the Imperial Court as to his prudence shall seem fitting.

From London, 2nd January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

3. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF VITERBO, Nuncio in France.

With the Bishop's letters of the 23rd ulto. received one from the Cardinal of Lorraine, rejoicing at the auspicious return of England to the unity and obedience of the Church, and informing him of the commission received from his most Christian Majesty (as announced by the Bishop) to celebrate a public thanksgiving for it. Encloses copy of his reply. Showed the Cardinal's letter to the King and Queen, and on every account thinks it warrants fair hopes for the negotiation of the peace. He also told their Majesties what the Bishop wrote about the good disposition towards it at the French court, and hopes that the replies to his last letters will give him an opportunity for proceeding further with them in this matter.

From London, 4th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 4.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

4. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF LORRAINE.

From the conversation held by him [at Fontainebleau] with the most Christian King, having known his wish for the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England, thought it his duty to congratulate him by letter on its having been effected, and at the same time alluded to the peace, which is so much desired and so necessary for the whole of Christendom.

Wrote also to the Cardinal of Lorraine, well knowing how much he wishes to aid both matters, and was beyond measure gratified to

1555.

find himself anticipated by the Cardinal's letter of the 22nd December, written before his receipt of Pole's, expressing not merely his own ardent and pious affection, but also the great satisfaction and joy of his most Christian Majesty at this so great and auspicious an event, and that he had chosen to announce it throughout his kingdom by ordaining a general thanksgiving, in which circumstance, as in that of the prodigal son, his Majesty has not only imitated the elder brother, but when rejoicing at the recovered health of the younger, has sought the joy of the father, an act well worthy of his Majesty's great piety.

They subsequently occupied themselves with the completion of this holy work, which was terminated to-day in Parliament by the abrogation of all the laws and acts (*constitutioni*) passed at the time of the schism against the authority of the See Apostolic; re-establishing them as they were previously, and restoring their pristine and due jurisdiction to the bishops and clergy, which body has been reduced to such a state of weakness by the past misfortunes, that in the matter of the Church property and of the interests of private individuals it became necessary to make concessions,* though it may be hoped that the true foundation having by God's grace been laid, the late ruins will daily undergo further repair, to which they will attend strenuously, and their Majesties, through their piety, give great hopes of the best result. Again entreats the Cardinal, by means of his great authority, to favour the negotiation for peace, which Pole will never cease to recommend to their Majesties.

From London, 4th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta),
File No. 20.

5. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

To congratulate the King and Queen on the conversion of their subjects to the Christian faith, and on the certainty now obtained of the Queen giving an heir to the realm (*et della certezza che si ha della posterità sua in quel Regno*).

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5.
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta),
File No. 20.

6. DOGE FRANCESCO VENIER to QUEEN MARY.

The announcement made lately by her Majesty's ambassador of the return of the realm of England to its obedience to the holy mother church, was very agreeable and much desired by him, but subsequently his satisfaction increased on hearing it through the Queen's most loving letter, and by the statement of her ambassador, whom he has requested to congratulate her Majesty in his (the Doge's) name with all affection on so auspicious and desired an event, and to tell her that although many thanks should be rendered to the Almighty for this great gift conferred on the whole of Christendom, yet must its own part be assigned to the very pru-

* Che egli è stato necessario nelle cose pertinenti ai beni et interessi privati, condescendere all' infirmità sua.

1555.

dent government and to the religion and great authority of her Majesty and of the most serene King in England.

Has charged his ambassador in England to represent this and other things to the Queen, whom he requests to give Michiel full credence, as all proceeds from the Doge's respect for her Majesty.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9.

Original
Letter Book
of Agostino
Barbarigo in
the Venetian
Archives.

7. AGOSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Mons. de S. Sulpice (S. Sulpitio) has been sent to England to congratulate the Queen on the return of that kingdom to the true faith, and to its obedience to the Apostolic See, a thing which has caused great satisfaction to all good Christians, and should any mention be made of the peace, he is commissioned to say that his most Christian Majesty will never be averse to any fair and suitable adjustment, such having always been his wish, he neither desiring the Emperor's possessions, nor that his Imperial Majesty should have what belongs to France. According to the statement (*relation*) of a gentleman able to know the fact, it seems that twelve captains have been sent to take troops from this kingdom to Scotland, it having been previously said that Mons. d'Aumale would be sent thither, but it seemed that subsequently nothing more was said about this.*

A few days ago an envoy (*luomo*) arrived from the Marquis Albert of Brandenburg, and has had several conferences with the Constable. Has not been able to obtain any authentic account of his negotiations, but it is said that the Marquis wishes to re-enter the French service, promising to bring into the field 15,000 infantry and 4,000 horse, wherever his Majesty shall please, not excepting Italy, the stipend demanded for this service being 50,000 ducats monthly; but unless Barbarigo's memory fail him, this negotiation was on foot last year, and well nigh stipulated, the Marquis marching southwards with his troops at the time when he was routed and put to flight.†

Poissy, 9th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

8. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

Is debtor to him for three letters, to the last of which, written throughout in Morone's own hand, he will reply autographically, and for the preceding ones Morone will allow him to acquit his debt in the handwriting of others.

This last, which is throughout congratulatory, comforted him greatly, not merely from hearing, and having well nigh palpable proof of his joy, but also from seeing that it commences and ends with the praise of God and acknowledgment of his infinite mercy and providence in bringing this so important an act to such an end.

* This report is also mentioned by Dr. Wotton. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, 1554, December 24, Poissy, p. 146.)

† It was also reported in December 1554 that Marquis Albert purposed marrying "the Duchess of Castro, the King's bastard daughter." (See Foreign Calendar as above.)

1555.

Had Morone seen how it came to pass he would say, as is said by those who were the agents, that divine providence did everything, both by giving such pious princes as the means and instruments for bringing this holy work to an end, as also by removing obstacles from the sight of those who so promptly resumed their obedience. Certain points and doubts which were subsequently mooted caused much difficulty, as Morone will have heard, and it now appears that the providence of God did this to accelerate and facilitate the introduction of the obedience, in like manner as He accelerated the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt,* who having been let go (*licentiati*), and having already departed, Morone knows how Pharaoh, before they crossed the Red Sea, again returned to persecute them, and endeavoured with his whole host to prevent their passage. The like seems to have occurred in the present case, the common enemy not having failed by indirect means and with all his might and malice to endeavour to prevent the repeal of the laws against the authority of the Pope, which act was the passage of the Red Sea and departure out of Egypt, which were at length effected, nevertheless, by the power of God, through the piety of Philip and Mary, for which be the divine goodness praised and thanked eternally.

Pole was much pleased to hear the way in which the Pope demonstrated his joy, and yesterday, having commenced speaking about this with their Majesties, the King anticipated me by telling the Queen in detail all the various rejoicings made by his Holiness, and afterwards whilst his Majesty was reading the Roman jubilee-bull, the Queen desired Pole to repeat the narrative in English, and they were much pleased with it. After this, her Majesty commenced speaking about sending an ambassador to Rome, and after having discoursed a little about finding persons suited to this office, the nomination was deferred until after the dissolution of Parliament, which please God will take place in two days,† and then, arrangements will be made for the remedy of abuses and irregularities of late introduced into the religion, which will be done together with the Bishops, who show themselves ready to do their duty in this matter, for which purpose they wish to confer with Pole, as they must do more than once, there being so much and such great disorder, and the body of the kingdom is so infirm, that to apply a remedy *res non est parvi consilii et magni laboris*, and also requires much time; but as by God's grace the jurisdiction of the Bishops is restored, the Legate also having full scope (*corso*) to exercise every faculty relating to this matter, it is hoped that in time things will daily go from good to better, for which they must constantly pray God.

With regard to the private affairs about which Morone writes to Pole in his other letters, he will merely tell him that concerning any matters to be treated or requested for him, through King Philip, Pole will always do willingly more than he has done hitherto for himself, never having spoken as yet with their Majesties about any private business either of his own or of his kinsfolk, who crowd round him, as Morone may imagine, and also how much they are

* Exodus, ch. xiv. v. 17, 20.

† Parliament was dissolved on the 16th January 1555. (See Froude, vol. vi. p. 309.)

1555.

in want; but until he sees the public affairs more consolidated, Pole is determined not to molest their Majesties about any private affair, and this he has hitherto adhered to strictly, but, as afore-said, will always willingly break this rule whenever he can serve Morone, as he did last evening, by speaking to King Philip about the affair of the church of Novara in such a way as seemed to him suitable at the moment, dilating on Morone's personal qualities, and presenting his letter. His Majesty listened to Pole willingly, and desired him to draw up a memorial, as he will do, and Morone shall be acquainted with the result.

The other letters will acquaint Morone with the commencement given to the affair of the peace, which they must constantly pray God to grant, in like manner as he has already granted the reconciliation of England.

From London, 14th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 16.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

9. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF TRENT.

Has received his letter in reply to the one delivered by Pole's gentleman, concerning the return of England to the obedience of the church. The Cardinal expressed himself so eloquently that it gave Pole an opportunity for speaking about him to the King, who seems to esteem and love him as his great worth and affectionate observance towards his Majesty deserve. For news of subsequent events, refers him to Messer Hercole Pagnano, from whom he hopes to have news of the Cardinal. Apologizes for merely writing these few words in reply to his long and most affectionate letter, again alluding to its extreme eloquence.

From London, 16th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 18.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

10. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF ARRAS.

The Bishop's letter of the 10th, in answer to what Pole wrote him by his gentleman despatched to Rome, has by so much the more gratified him, not because he had need of any testimony of the great satisfaction which he was certain the Emperor and the Bishop would derive from the auspicious reconciliation, etc., but that with regard to this matter he might be enabled to satisfy others who are not so well acquainted with the Bishop's nature, which, like that of Pole, is averse to ceremony; nor have they due consideration for his incessant occupations. The Bishop will have heard subsequently all that has taken place from day to day and the good decision formed lately by their Majesties about the Parliament (*che ultimamente quelle Maestà hanno fatto del Parlamento*); and he will have seen that the whole was done, not only with the concurrence (*correspondentia*) of their Majesties, as the Bishop says, but at their constant instigation (*continui indrizi*), they having been, as it were, throughout the chief movers of everything, and great thanks are due to God for their goodness and piety. Arras will have heard of the movement which Pole thought it opportune to make about the peace, by writing to France (with the opportunity afforded by transmission of his congratulations on these

1555.

auspicious events), and the result obtained, which Pole having communicated to their Majesties, he is also writing about it to the Nuncio at Brussels. Does not doubt but that the Bishop, who has always shown himself anxious for peace, will perform every good office for this object, which is desired for the general benefit and welfare of Christendom; and the sooner some positive reply is given the more expedient would it be, in order not to lose the opportunity of the moment and of the season. Pole for his own part, although he has never had any greater wish than to serve the Emperor, thinking thus to 'farther the common weal, at the same time; yet should he know his service to be less acceptable than he would wish it to be, he will withdraw and turn aside, according to his custom, to serve his Majesty by praying God, whom he beseeches to comfort King Philip and Queen Mary, and all Christendom by a peace, if not altogether such as wished, at least such as may daily give hopes of something better. Recommends himself to the Bishop and requests him humbly to kiss the Emperor's hand on his behalf.

From London, 18th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

11. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Pole's agent will have acquainted the Pope with the daily course of events in England since the reconciliation, and now that Parliament is dissolved and everything quite concluded and established, he sends him more full and particular information of the whole, together with the writings, that he may present them to his Holiness or to such person as the Pope shall appoint. The agent will also have reported what Pole did about the peace when writing his congratulations to the King of France on the auspicious events in England. The Pope will now hear, that from the reply received, and from the discourse of the French ambassador in London, and of their Majesties, Pole has thought fit again to enter upon this negotiation, for which purpose he has sent the Abbot of San Saluto to the Imperial Court, both as a demonstration of greater zeal in this matter, as also to obtain a positive reply more speedily lest the opportunity of time and season be lost. Will not weary the Pope with particulars which he can hear at his pleasure from the agent. If the peace can be obtained, as a sequel to the reconciliation of England, it will fill up the measure of the Pope's joy.

From London, 19th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

12. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR.

As by means of King Philip and Queen, the Almighty has reunited England to his Church, having also employed the intervention of Pole, according to the first commission received from the Pope, he now has greater hope that the Lord will also comfort his Holiness by the grant of the peace between the Emperor and France, for which having also been enjoined to exert himself as he did, he now again recommenced, availing himself of an opportunity to write to the French King, from whom and from his ambassador he had the reply which the Emperor will hear from the Abbot of San Saluto,

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for whom he requests audience, and prays God to open the way for so great and necessary a blessing, and long to preserve and prosper the Emperor, whose hands he humbly kisses.

From London, 19th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19.

13. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL OF AUGSBURG.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Printed in vol. 5, libel (*libellus quidam typis excussus*) in abuse of him, which, now

"Epistolarum
Reginaldi Poli,"

etc.,

pp. 60-62.

Together with the Cardinal's congratulatory letter on the auspicious return of England to the Catholic Church, received a certain printed libel (*libellus quidam typis excussus*) in abuse of him, which, now that he is receiving so many congratulations, so far from causing anger, was accepted by him as an antidote to the dulcet melody of praise; but with regard to the author, what Pole wrote about the supremacy of the Pope (*de primatu summi Pontificis*),* if Pole's opinion—which is not his, but that of the Catholic Church—did not please him, why did he not commence by confuting it. If he wished to render Pole odious to the reader, could he not have done so more easily by confuting in the first place his doctrine. Instead of this he extracted from the book such parts as concern the King [Henry VIII.], interpreting them in a sense quite contrary to Pole's meaning. Pole wished to lay before the King what might befall him by provoking the wrath of God, the Pope, and the Emperor, by persisting in his error. This Pole did, because he desired the welfare and safety of the King, who knew not his own danger.

This was Pole's object throughout the discourse, which the Emperor never read, Pole taking care that the King should read it, as it greatly concerned him; but as all these things are sufficiently explained, partly in the books themselves,† and partly in his intended preface, he now sends them to the Cardinal of Augsburg, with permission, should he think fit, to publish them together with the other works written by him concerning this matter, without the slightest thought of publication; but being thus induced by divine providence, through the iniquitous and malignant calumny of the interpreter, he dedicates them to Christ and the Church (*Christo, et Ecclesie, dedicata sunt*). He had determined to do this last summer, on receiving a certain "epistle" containing much abuse, in which, as it seems, this same person threatened to write against him, as he has now done; but as Pole heard nothing farther about the publication, he neither sent to the Cardinal of Augsburg the letter which he had written to him on the subject, nor yet the writings for publication, but now does so the more willingly, hoping that if published he may thus be saved the trouble of any farther reply. In the meanwhile they must pray Christ, the light of truth and true physician of souls, to cure that of this man and the other renegades, which are ulcerated by malevolence and hatred towards ecclesiastics, so that they may the more easily discern the truth, and be received into the bosom of the Church. Sends many salutations to Father Soto, for whom, as he is comprised in the male-

* Query, in Pole's work addressed to Henry VIII., and entitled, "De Unitate et Primatu Ecclesie"?

† The five books "De Unitate," etc. (See Beccatello, Life of Pole, p. 390.)

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dictions of that reviler (*conviciator ille*), Pole greatly wishes as assistant and co-operator in England, where that sort of crop abounds, and he is wished for by many, not only of his own country, but by Englishmen likewise, and unless he is enabled to come shortly, as hoped, Pole will have no rest.*

[*Latin*, 82 lines.]

Jan. 20 †
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

14. BRIEF SUMMARY of what took place concerning the CHURCH PROPERTY.

When Renard, the Imperial ambassador resident in England, was sent to Brussels by Queen Mary to settle with the Legate about his coming hither, he asked him, amongst other things, to state his determination. The principal matter was the restitution of the Church property held here by the laity, about which the Legate could never be induced to promise anything, from his conviction that it would be too injurious for the matter in hand (which ought to be treated with all sincerity) if they proceeded by means of compacts and obligations; so he merely announced to Renard his general intention that on the return of the kingdom to its obedience to the See Apostolic, they would know in everything the grace, benignity, and paternal will of his Holiness.

On the Legate's arrival the King, before stipulating the union, went in person to Pole, and told him in short that it was impossible to effect the return to the obedience, unless the holders of this Church property were allowed to retain its actual possession. To this, after much discussion, the Legate at length said that should the Pope have to condescend to some indulgence for the removal of the impediments to so holy and necessary a work, this would be done after the completion of the return to the obedience, and that then this indulgence might be used, "*ob duritiam cordis illorum*," but that with regard to that part of the Church property which was in the hands of their Majesties, they could not in honour allege these reasons; to which the King replied that they would occupy themselves with the conclusion of the union, and that as to the property held by the crown he believed (*teneva*) their intention was not to retain any part of it, unless it was deemed that they could do so with a clear conscience, and that they would always refer themselves to the Pope and his Legate, and thus the matter rested (*et con questo si restò*).

The kingdom having subsequently freely resumed its obedience, as known, promising to abrogate all the laws enacted at the time of the schism against the Pope and the See Apostolic, and whilst occupied with this repeal the Parliament having presented a petition to the King and Queen for that, amongst the other things, they should intercede for the renunciation (*resaluttione*, sic) of the Church property; and the bishops in like manner petitioning apart to the same effect, for the sake of the common weal, although contrary

* This shows that Soto was still at the University of Dillingen on the 19th January 1555, and that he did not accompany King Philip to England, as stated by his biographers. In the printed edition of this letter, the entire paragraph about Father Soto has been omitted.

† No date of time or place in manuscript.

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to their own private interest; the Legate having first of all endeavoured by several ways to recover as much as he could for the churches; at length, being unable to do otherwise, in order not to impede the completion of so important a work, and for the public welfare and quiet of England, condescended in such a way to the retention of this property that everybody might very easily perceive that his dispensation was a mere permission* *ob duritiam cordis illorum*, as in this dispensation he never would consent to add the clause "*quod absque aliquo conscientie scrupulo possent hujusmodi bona retinere*,"† although he was several times urged strongly to insert it; and this he did to leave in their minds a goad (*un stimulo*) which in the course of time might move them to make some fitting and due acknowledgment, as some of them have done already.

The repeal of the acts having been passed, and Parliament being dissolved, Pole again spoke to their Majesties about the Church property incorporated with the Crown; and for conscience sake they evinced their readiness not to fail in the intention announced (*data*) by them to him, with regard to which they have referred themselves to the Pope and his Legate, as seen by their letters, a resolve which it may be well supposed met with many and great impediments; but their piety at length overcame them all; and the reverend fathers who are about the King, likewise performed every good office in this matter.

After the renunciation had been made, Pole, in order more maturely to accomplish the disposal (*dispositione*) of this property, requested their Majesties to appoint some of the chief personages of their Council to give him particular information respecting its quality and quantity, and the necessities of the kingdom (*et de bisogni del regno*), so they appointed him the Chancellor and the others who are named in the minute of the bull drawn up concerning this property, they being those suggested by Pole, persons of piety, and who are very well acquainted with these matters. There was no lack of other members of the Council who opposed this committee (*deputazione*), wishing to be comprised in it, and whose intervention might greatly have confused and disturbed the business; but Pole nevertheless contrived that the [original] number [of the committee] should not be added to; and so subsequently the commissioners held frequent conferences with their Majesties, and everything having been well examined, the business was at length concluded, as seen by the said minute of the bulls which is annexed.‡

Although the advantage thus obtained is self-evident, yet, for a full comprehension of the quantity and quality of the Church property incorporated with the Crown, will mention that in the year§ of the reign of Henry VIII. [it was decreed?] by Act of Parliament that he and his successors, for the maintenance of the crown, and of the title of Supreme Head of the

* Che ognuno poteva molto bene accorgersi la sua dispensava (*sic*) esser totalmente una permissione *ob duritiam*, etc.

† See 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 8, sec. 31. "*Et licet omnes res mobiles*," etc.

‡ This draft does not exist in the manuscript.

§ 23 Henry VIII, cap. 20.

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Anglican Church, were to levy and receive the entire first fruits of all the church benefices of the kingdom, whenever they fell vacant, and that no one could take possession of any benefice until after payment of said first fruits, or compounding for them, the sum thus raised amounting to the sum of X.*

Considering the quality of this ecclesiastical revenue, which could not be taken from the Crown without depriving their Majesties of the means of maintaining their dignity to the benefit of the religion, care was had nevertheless not to leave to the Crown that part of the property which concerns the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and dignity and interest of the clergy, such as levying the first fruits and the tenths. They therefore, in the first place, entirely annulled (*si sono levate*) the levying of the first fruits, and, secondly, of the tenths, conferring them on the clergy, but with the obligation to pay the pensions paid by the King to the regular and secular clergy who had been expelled; and as these pensions were for life, and their holders of advanced age, the clergy will soon be relieved from this burden.

Secondly, by decree of the said Parliament it was established that the King and his successors were to receive annually for the same cause all the tenths, revenues, and profits, both temporal and spiritual, of all the ecclesiastical benefices of the kingdom, amounting to the sum of X.† Thirdly, by Acts of Parliament passed in 1527 and 1531, there were annexed to the Crown all the property and rights of all the monasteries and religious houses (*luoghi religiosi*), including expressly those of St. John's of Jerusalem, by force of which decree the Exchequer (*il fisco*) took possession of all this property, including 700 church benefices attached to these monasteries and religious houses, yielding an annual rental of X.‡

Thirdly, they have recovered from the Crown (*si sono levati*) all the benefices and property annexed to the monasteries and places aforesaid, no longer leaving these titles at the disposal of laymen, and thus benefiting the people, who will be better served by their own pastors than they were by mercenaries in the time of the monasteries before the schism; and as some of the benefices in England have a very small revenue, it has been thought fit to augment them at the expense of the richer ones; and besides this, provision may also be thus made for the education of young students destined for the service of the Church. The rest of the property belonging to the monasteries has been left to the Crown, to lighten the burden of State expenditure, most especially as in this case no injury is done to private individuals, the monasteries having been completely destroyed; and this property is also renounced, with the hope that from time to time their Majesties will realise the intention professed by them of restoring the monasteries and other religious institutions (*et altri luoghi pii*).

On presenting this statement to the Pope, [Pole's agent ?] is to

* La sūma de quali ascende alla sūma de X.

† La qual decima ascende alla sūma de X.

‡ De quali ascende alla sūma de X.

§ "Et perchè i beni de' beneficij di questo Regno alcuni sono molto tenui, si è pensato di supplire con parte di quelli che sono più grassi, il che non solo si potrà fare, ma oltre acciò provvedere anco alla educatione de' giovani in studio, ordinati al servizio del clero."

1555.

request him to let the Legate know if he sanctions it; in which case, after concluding it with their Majesties, a convocation will be held of the Bishops and other persons who usually attend the synods in England, that this arrangement may be carried into execution.

[From London, 20th January 1555 ?]

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 21.

Original
Letter Book
of Agostino
Barbarigo in the
Venetian
Archives.

15. AGOSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Wrote lately that Monsr. de S. Sulpice had been sent to England, this information having been derived by him from the Nuncio, who repeated it, but told him subsequently that this charge was given to the Prothonotary de Nœuilles, brother of the French Ambassador in England, whose arrival thence at this court was announced to the Signory. [Understands that the troops sent to Scotland, as mentioned in his last, may have been for the purpose of filling up some companies in need of recruits, but it is nevertheless said that this has caused some suspicion to the Imperialists, and it also seems that some cavalry officers are now going to join their companies towards Champagne and Picardy.]*

Poissy, 21st January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 24.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
Vol. 69, p. 79.

16. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian BAILO at Constantinople.

Our letters from England confirm the fact of that kingdom having returned to its pristine Catholic faith, and obedience to the Pontiff. The "Bailo" is to communicate these advices as usual.

Ayes, 165; Noes, 9; Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

17. CARDINAL POLE to [PIETRO] CONTARINI, BISHOP of PAPHOS.

Acknowledges receipt of his letter of congratulation on the auspicious events in England, and thanks him for it.

From London, 26th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30.

Original
Letter Book
of Agostino
Barbarigo in the
Venetian
Archives.

18. AGOSTINO BARBARIGO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Conversing lately [with the Papal Nuncio, was told by him, that considering some days ago the impossibility for the Emperor or the most Christian King to take the field in these parts for the next four months, he wrote to Cardinal Pole that for this reason he should think it well for him to seek another conference between two personages in the confidence of the Emperor, as for instance, the Bishop of Arras and one of his colleagues, and for this side the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, assuring him that so far as he could see, he considered the most Christian King very well

* The portion in brackets was put into cipher in the despatch.

1555.

disposed to that effect. Cardinal Pole replied that the government being then intent on reducing the kingdom to the obedience of the church, he did not perceive the opportunity for putting forward the matter at that time, neither did he see how he could attend to it, but on the accomplishment of the act of reconciliation, on which he relied through God's assistance, he would commence this other undertaking. Thus has it come to pass, as on the 13th instant, Cardinal Pole wrote to the Nuncio, that having spoken to their Majesties on the subject they showed themselves so well inclined towards it, that they immediately sent a despatch to the Emperor, in such wise that the Nuncio was of opinion, that were anything whatever to take place, it will be through the mediation of their said Majesties; and concerning peace, the Portuguese Ambassador told the writer that more than once King Philip had sent to and from England to the Emperor, a Portuguese gentleman (whose name he mentioned), his intimate servant and chief chamberlain, and the Portuguese ambassador believed him to have been sent for this cause.

On the day before yesterday Monsr. de Vendome, having been met with great demonstrations of honour from the nobility, arrived at the court, having come to consummate his marriage with the sister of the Duke of Nemours at Fontainebleau],* so some persons say that this also may afford an opportunity [for speaking about peace, in conformity with what was said by the English ambassador, as written to the Doge on the 11th December. The Nuncio also told the writer that some days ago, the Emperor acquainted Don Juan Manrique with his intention of coming to some understanding about the affairs of Sienna, of which they have good hopes here.]

At the close of the King's stay at St. Germain, one of the Dukes of Brunswick arrived there, Monsr. de Lansac having been sent to meet him, and from what the writer has heard, it is the one who visited the Doge at Venice. [His most Christian Majesty will be here to-morrow, and after remaining a few days, will then go to Fontainebleau with the Queen for her delivery.]

Paris, 30th January 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30.
Parti Secrete
Consiglio X.
File No. 8.

19. PETER VANNES.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

The reverend Ambassador of England—not as Ambassador from his King, but in virtue of letters of credence from the Signory of Lucca—having requested our Signory to allow him to hire two ships in Venice, that they may be sent into the Levant to load wheat for the use of their city, and it being necessary to answer him :

Put to the ballot, that when said Ambassador returns for the reply, our most Serene Prince do apologize for being unable to grant his demand, making such excuses as to his Serenity's wisdom shall seem fit.

Ayes, 22 ; Noes, 3 ; Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

* The bracketed passages were ciphered from the letter book, which contains no cipher at all.

1555.

Feb. 2.

Lettere dei
Capi Conso. X.
File No. 39.

20. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to the ANCIENTS AND CONFEDERATE FOR JUSTICE (*Vexillifero Justitiæ*) of the PEOPLE and COMMUNITY of LUCCA.

Their letters were presented by the Reverend Ambassador [Peter Vannes] of the King of England resident with them on the 15th ulto. He made the statement, enjoined him in their name, and most warmly urged their suit, which although the Signory greatly wishes to oblige them, nevertheless the great scarcity of grain from which they are now suffering, and the yet greater need which they apprehend hereafter, have compelled them to excuse themselves, being obliged to make use of their own ships for the need of Venice, and of the other places in the Venetian territory, which are many, and suffer greatly, as represented by them more in detail to the aforesaid ambassador, who will give particular account of the whole. The Signory feels certain they will admit that the nature of the present times, and the need in which they find themselves, are the cause of their inability to satisfy them, as they would wish by reason of their great good will and affection for them.

Lectæ Collegio.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

21. PHEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Admiral, Monsr. de Guise, and the Duke de Nemours departed last Monday for Champagne and other frontier provinces, and although it may be supposed that they go for the purpose of commencing the campaign betimes, as said by the Constable heretofore, it is also heard that towards St. Lys (Ssonli) from 15,000 to 16,000 Burgundians have mustered and are ravaging. A messenger lately sent by King Philip to his ambassador, told him (the ambassador) that on his way from Amiens to Abbeville, he heard that a certain amount of infantry was being drafted from those fortresses, and others adjoining, with orders to take with them victuals for five days. Of this, however, there is no farther confirmation; nor has anything certain been heard about the operations of the Marshal de St. André against the Imperial fortress near Hesdin.

Since the last three days the Marquis Albert [of Brandenburg] is lodged publicly at the Court at Fontainebleau. No particulars are known about his business with the King, who two days previously conferred with him whilst hunting. Will not fail to learn as much as he can on the subject, and will acquaint the Doge with it.

The English ambassadors on their way to Rome are said to have arrived in this kingdom.

Melun, 6th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 8.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

22. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

I write this to your Lordship to give you minute information about my mind (*animo*) concerning the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, one of the chief causes for the despatch of this courier being the deprivation (*depositione*) of the present Archbishop [Cranmer], and the provision to be made for his successor.

1555.

Your right reverend Lordship may have heard how before my coming hither I was twice requested to accept this charge, the first time on the part of this most serene Queen, who commissioned a servant of mine to tell me by word of mouth her wish in this matter; the second time, on the part of the King and Queen together, by means of the Imperial ambassador resident here when he came to Brussels; and I believe that at present their Majesties will make the same request to his Holiness; so I think it necessary to let him know through your right reverend Lordship my sentiment in this case, which in short is none other than that which by the grace of God I have always had, readily to conform (*di obedir*) to whatever God shall inspire him to command me, but in such a way that if I am to bear this burden his Holiness do liberate me from Rome for ever, and let me serve God and him here and not elsewhere. Your right reverend Lordship also knows my sentiment about the residence of bishops, in which matter if it has sometimes seemed to certain persons that I am too scrupulous, being unable to convince myself that it is fitting for a bishop to reside elsewhere than in his own diocese, and in the midst of his flock, as is the duty of a shepherd; this is a scruple which I could never renounce, and I hope that the divine goodness will never allow me to change this sentiment, which I for my own part am convinced is at the very bottom of my heart (*secretissimo*). This will suffice to assure your Lordship of what you have always known and heard me say, whenever I have had occasion to discuss this subject. But in addition to this I would wish your Lordship to know, that in case his Holiness, after hearing my mind herein, should determine, to the satisfaction of King Philip and Queen Mary, to employ me elsewhere rather than here, and not to give me this charge, I should also remain perfectly satisfied, nor could anything distress me in this business, save to see myself assigned a post in which I could not serve, and that I should consider it a great relief (*una gran libert *) to be able to remain without similar posts, which I would never undertake (*non pigliarei*) save from mere obedience, and as I have said I should consider it a great favour the not being compelled to undertake them, although combined with all the honours and conveniences in the world, as in great measure is the case with the primacy in England. Your right reverend Lordship now knows my entire sentiment in this business, which however is not new to you, and for your more complete knowledge of the whole case, I will moreover tell you that since my sojourn here their Majesties have never spoken to me about accepting the archbishopric* though their ministers have, without however showing that they were commissioned to do so, but they indeed told me lately that the King and Queen purpose writing about this to his Holiness, and, as aforesaid, I shall be content with whatever he may determine, after being well acquainted, both with my mind and with that of their Majesties, as I never find greater repose than in God's providence when I allow myself to be ruled by it throughout, without any farther intrusion of my own,† save what conscience requires me to

* Questi Principi non me hanno mai parlato che lo accettassi lo Arcivescovato.

† Senza metterne altro del mio.

1555.

lay before my superior, as I have chosen to do at present by means of your Lordship, and referring myself for the rest to "our" Messer Gio. Francesco, I humbly kiss your hands, praying our Lord God always to have you in his holy keeping.

From London, 8th March 1555.

[*Italian.*]*

March 10.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Printed in vol. 5,

pp. 4, 7.

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi

Poli," etc.

Dated as above.

23. CARDINAL POLE to POPE JULIUS III.

Recommends to the Pope the three ambassadors who are going to him from England.

The youngest of them, and who is the chief personage of the embassy [Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague], gave such proof of his piety heretofore in his youth, that when after his father's death,† on succeeding to his inheritance, he had to take the usual oath according to the words of the statute, which constituted the King supreme head of the Church in his kingdom, his voice suddenly failed him, nor for some time could he utter a word (*vox eum subito defecit, et aliquandiu ne verbum quidem effari potuit*), which caused him to be so suspected by the persons then in authority that he narrowly escaped the loss both of life and property (*ut parum abfuerit, quin tunc bonis simul cum vita spoliaretur*). Some years afterwards he was, moreover, imprisoned on account of religion (*religionis causâ*), but being his kinsman‡ Pole does not think fit to say more in praise of him. His colleague, the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby], in those troublous times when the abrogation of the mass was discussed, opposed that measure, both in public and private; and had he not been absent on an embassy to the Emperor§ he would have been cast into prison, like so many others of his episcopal brethren. He is a good jurist, and an able negotiator. The third [Sir Edward Carne] is "*Equus auratus*," as they call him, and an able lawyer, and like his other colleagues is supposed to be well inclined towards the Catholic religion and piety (*parique ac ceteri Collegæ Catholicæ religionis ac pietatis studio tenetur*); of yore when King Henry commenced being schismatic, he sent him to Rome as Excusator,|| and to inform the Pope of the danger of rebellion in case of his refusal to consent to the divorce. At present, the piety of Queen Mary and King Philip induces them to appoint him their resident ambassador at Rome as

* I have translated the foregoing letter word for word, because it fixes the date of the first proposals made to Cardinal Pole to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury; and confirms the opinion of one of his most distinguished modern biographers (Dr. Hook, Dean of Chichester), "that it is very doubtful whether he wished for the archbishopric at all; he apparently accepted it only at the request of his sovereign and of the Pope." (*See Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. iii. p. 298, ed. London, 1869.)

† Sir Anthony Browne, the father of Viscount Montague, died 6th May 1548. (*See Burke's Extinct Peerages.*)

‡ The paternal grandmother of Sir Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montacute or Montague, was Lucy, one of the daughters and co-heirs of John Nevill, Marquess of Montague; and Sir Anthony Browne's sister Mabel married Gerald, Earl of Kildare; so the relationship between Sir Anthony Browne and Cardinal Pole was twofold. (*See Burke's Extinct Peerages*, pp. 82, 83, ed. London, 1846.)

§ The correspondence of Thomas Thirlby (then Bishop of Westminster) during his embassy at the Imperial Court, 1546-1547, is printed in State Papers, vols. x. xi.

|| Notices of Sir Edward Carne (Kern, or Karne), Excusator at Rome, 1530-1533, have been published in vol. i. State Papers; and vol. iv. Venetian Calendar.

1555.

a witness of the cessation of the schism, and of the true and due obedience of this kingdom to the Pope and the Apostolic See. The King and Queen request his Holiness to reinvest them with the Lordship of Ireland, which during the schism had been made a kingdom (*inducto jam schismate in regnum fuerit erectum*); and considering the poverty of the English bishops the ambassadors are charged to ask his Holiness for "Apostolic Letters" in their favour.

London, 10th March 1555.

[*Latin, 44 lines.*]

March 12.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

24. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Through the return from the Impérial Court of Don Ruy Gomez,* the despatch for Italy of the Duke of Alva, with the charge, as already written by me, of vicar and governor general of all King Philip's dominions, with great and extraordinary authority, such as perhaps at no time was ever heard to have been vested in any minister of a prince, is confirmed but not yet published; he in short having been given full and absolute power to do in all matters whether of law or favour (*di poter fare in tutte le cose, ò siano di giustizia ò siano di gratia*), as if he were the King in person, the only reservation being, that he may not change the warders of Naples and Milan. It is said he will depart, after the despatch of the secretary Erasso,† at the close of the present month, with a considerable supply of money, and travel post-wise, as is his custom, with very few attendants, leaving his household to accompany the Duchess his wife leisurely, she possibly delaying her departure until after the delivery of the most Serene Queen.

His Excellency purposes making use of four persons as his lieutenants, two at Naples and two at Milan, the one for the affairs of justice and of the [municipal?] government, in each of those places, the other for military matters, for which last, the persons mentioned are Don Bernardin de Mendoza,‡ and Don Garcia de Toledo,§ the Duke of Alva's cousin; Don Francisco de Toledo (now resident with the Duke of Florence), and Don Diego de Azevedo (one of King Philip's chamberlains,|| who will accompany the Duchess into Italy), for the civil department (*per la giustizia*). The Duke of Alva retains his office of Lord High Chamberlain to the Emperor, but resigns the same grade hitherto held by him at the court of King Philip, and which, together with other honourable terms for his children, has been offered to Don Ferrante,¶ that he may come and reside in England; but as he delays his decision until

* Ruy Gomez de Silva, Duke of Pastrana, Prince of Melito. (See Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Index.)

† Francisco de Erasso, Spanish Secretary to Charles V. and Philip II. (See Turnbull, as above.)

‡ See Turnbull, date 3rd March 1555.

§ See Turnbull, Index.

|| In Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, May 17, 1555, it is stated that Don Diego Azevedo was also "*Economus pro principe*."

¶ Don Ferrante Gonzaga. (See Mr. Turnbull's Calendar)

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the return of Erasso, it cannot be known whether he accepts the post, though the general belief is that he will. On the Duke of Alva's departure, will not fail to remind him of the Signory's vicinity to the Milanese, and of the orders given to the Venetian governors for the maintenance of the peace with the Emperor and the King, as reciprocated by former Imperial ministers; and to express hopes that this good understanding may continue. Will also perform the same office with King Philip, so that besides verbal orders, especial mention may be made of this on the Duke's [written] instructions.

The King having sent last week in haste for the Earl of Pembroke, one of the chief noblemen of England, who, as usual with him, was living in retirement at his country seat, 60 miles hence; his sudden appearance in London caused a very general report of its being induced by war with France, as argued from a rumour current lately at the Court, and which circulated everywhere, that the French were at Montreuil and thereabouts, with several companies (insegne) of infantry, and a large supply of ladders, and other engines (instrumenti) for scaling and breaching walls, having an understanding in Calais, and thinking to take it by a plot which was discovered by the flight of one of the Queen's chief officials there to France, by name Anthony Aucher? (come tonio Ager) (sic),† who is considered a shrewd and bold man (persona accorta et di spirito); and this coupled with the arrest of certain other persons, was said and universally suspected to have induced their Majesties to send for Lord Pembroke, and likewise to summon all the other peers of the realm (li altri Signori del Regno), to proclaim this evil proceeding on the part of the French, and have a declaration of war made against them. But having by all means in my power endeavoured to ascertain the truth, and learn the origin and foundation of this rumour, I find that as to the flight of that individual, and the plot or suspicion of a plot, the whole is vain and false; and I am assured they merely sent for the Earl that he might cross the Channel to inspect the fortress of Guisnes, which is understood to need repair, and that his authority and presence there may hasten every necessary provision. He will cross to-morrow or next day, and besides this repair of Guisnes, he will also carefully inspect the fortress of Calais, to provide them with ammunition, victuals, or whatever else they may require, as the Royal Council does not entirely rely on the judgment of the present governor,‡ although they have no doubt of his fidelity, he being young and inexperienced; and as the Queen's confinement is approaching, they are apprehensive, should it go ill (andasse male), which God forbid, with the French patrolling (che*

* William Herbert. (See Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Index.)

† Pasini's Key gives the Italian words as in my text. In the Domestic Calendar, 1549-1551, I find the name Anthony Aucher; and in date 1557-1558, Mr. Turnbull's Index mentions Aucher, Marshal of Calais.

‡ Thomas Wentworth, second Lord, appointed Lord Deputy at Calais, November 1553. In July 1556, Dr. Wotton, English Ambassador in Paris, wrote to Sir William Petre, "The Deputy of Calais will rather deliver it to the French King than to the King of England, provided he will assist these rebels." (See Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, pp. 27, 238).

1555.

passeggiano) *those borders, that should the English fortresses (le cose loro) be weak or ill provided, an opportunity might present itself for some one to seize them.*

Owing to the diligence and industry which the King enjoined with regard to the senators, delegates (*ambasciatori*), and many other private persons from Milan and the other towns of the Milanese, they have well nigh all been despatched, and in great part obtained their demands; his Majesty, so far as time and opportunity permit, not having failed to reward everybody. He has added 2,000 Milanese livres to the annual salary of the senators, but deprived them of their exemptions. To the delegates (*ambasciatori*) he has remitted a debt of 70,000 ducats due from the city for unpaid taxes, and besides giving security for restitution of the money supplied lately by Milan, derived from the fund for the building of the walls, and from the charitable institutions (*lochi pii*), for the need of Piedmont, he has promised as soon as the present active (*gagliarda*) war allows him to take breath, that he will take off all the imposts extraordinary, in like manner as he has now ordered the complete cessation of the pay given to the Neapolitan men-at-arms. He has referred the dispute between the cities themselves, about the estimate and contributions, to the future governor, to whom he has also in great part referred all the suits of private individuals (*tutte le cose de' particolari di giustizia*). To the conspirators of Piacenza* he has assigned 600 ducats revenue to be levied throughout the Milanese for them and their heirs, with the exception of Count Agostin de Lando, to whom he has confirmed the donation made to him by the Emperor of the Castle of Borgo de-Val de Farro, which was confiscated from the Fieschi [family] (*che fu confiscato alli Fieschi*) and given him an export permit for 2,000 measures of grain [annually] during his life; and to Count Giovanni Angussuola, according to his request, he has promised a military appointment, referring the despatch of this matter to the Governor, as he does not choose it to be published in England.†

To the Signor Giovanni Battista Gastaldo, he has conceded that his pension of 2,000 ducats on the chamber of Milan, which from inability has not been paid, be assigned him on the customs, a sure fund and very good pay (*pagabilissimo*); besides many other largesses of export permits for grain to captains, soldiers, and officials, so that now well nigh everything has been despatched.

London, 12th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Who on the 10th September 1547 assassinated Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza. (*See L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, p. 845. ed. Paris, 1770.) Some notices of the conspirators will be found in Mr. Turnbull's Calendar of the reign of Edward VI.

† In Andrea Morosini's Venetian History (vol. 2, pp. 174, 175. Ed. Venice, 1782), it is seen that the Imperial Governor of Milan, Don Ferrante Gonzaga, was supposed to have been privy to the murder of Pier Luigi Farnese, because at the instigation of the conspirators who proclaimed liberty, he took possession of Piacenza in the name of the Emperor, who was therefore much vituperated in Italy on this account, and for King Philip to reward the murderers after a lapse of seven years would not have added to his popularity in England, so this silence on the subject may be attributed to deference for public opinion there. For a minute account of this murder, see *Litta's Famiglie Celebri Italiane* Dispeusa, 140. Farnese Duchi di Parma. Parte I^a Tavola XL.

1555.

March 14.
MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

25. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP OF VITERBO, Nuncio in France.

Will have heard how he sent to the Emperor the Abbot of San Saluto, who, partly from his Majesty's indisposition, and partly from other impediments, had not had audience down to the 3rd instant,* but the Bishop of Arras assured him that he should soon be despatched with a good resolution, in conformity with Pole's proposal, the Bishop, however, announcing this as an opinion of his own. This sure hope induced Pole to exhort the French Ambassador in London not to scruple detaining his brother the prothonotary a little longer. Then, on the day before yesterday, King Philip told Pole that the Emperor had given him to understand that should the King of France choose to send two personages to propose and treat the peace, his Imperial Majesty would in like manner send two others. He also hinted that should the King of France determine to send the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, the Emperor might send the Duke of Alva for one; and Pole conversing about this with the prothonotary, it seemed to them that the other might be the Bishop of Arras, he being the Emperor's prime minister. King Philip also alluded to the places which would seem opportune for the meeting, the French negotiators going to Ardres, and the Emperor's to Gravelines, saying that they might then assemble together in some intervening place (*in qualche loco medio*). Something was also said about Pole individually as the minister of his Holiness; and of the Chancellor [Gardiner] as the minister of Queen Mary. With this resolve the prothonotary took leave of the Queen to-day, and will depart to-morrow; and it was moreover suggested that if Pole and the Bishop of Winchester went, they might go to Guisnes. After this Pole received letters from the Abbot of San Saluto dated the 9th, announcing his having had gracious audience of the Emperor, and this same reply; and that he will return immediately on receiving a letter from his Imperial Majesty. Pole does not write to the King, or to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, referring himself to what he writes to the Nuncio; prays God that in this matter, which is so necessary for the welfare of Christendom, the Pope may be comforted. Monsigr. Agostini had arrived at Brussels, and after obtaining audience, will continue his journey to England.

From London, 14th March 1555.

P.S.—Urges him to take advantage of the opportunity, and not to delay the commencement of this negotiation.

[*Italian.*]

March 14?†

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
cod. xxiv. cl. x.
No date.

26. CARDINAL POLE to HENRY II., King of France.

The King will have heard that after performing his duty as Legate by writing to his Majesty in favour of the peace, Pole sent the Abbot of San Saluto to perform the like office with the Emperor, and although the reply did not arrive until now, owing to his

* This account of Parpaglia's mission is confirmed in Foreign Calendar, date Brussels, from January 10 to March 3, 1555, pp. 149-157.

† No date of time or place in manuscript.

1555

Majesty's indisposition, it is nevertheless precisely what Pole desired, as the King will hear from the Prothonotary de Noailles and from the Nuncio, to whom he refers himself with all reverence and affection. Prays him to demonstrate by facts his readiness to obtain so great a blessing, and one so necessary for all Christendom, as expected from his piety and generosity.

[From London, 14th March 1555?]

[*Italian.*]

March 15.
MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

27. CARDINAL POLE to * [ANNE DE MONT-MORENCY, Constable of France?]

Most illustrious and most excellent Lord. The Prothonotary de Noailles returning [to France] well acquainted with all that has passed at the English Court relating to the negotiation for the peace, which Pole as in duty bound endeavoured to resume, it is unnecessary for him to write anything more on the subject to his Excellency, referring him to the Prothonotary and the Nuncio, to whom Pole has written what King Philip said to him about the business, and what has been written to him by his Abbot of San Saluto, who, as [the Constable?] will have heard, was sent by him to Brussels. It remains for him to request [the Constable] to continue using his good offices and influence with the most Christian King for the desired end and the common weal, as expected from him in accordance with his constant declaration that he is in favour of the peace, which may God of his goodness grant to Christendom and long preserve his Excellency, to whom Pole recommends himself.

From London, 15th March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 15.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

28. PHEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Was told by the Constable that the English ambassadors would go to Fontainebleau to his Christian Majesty, and on the morning of the 10th, before their departure from Melun, *the Nuncio visited them, but from what he told the writer on the subject he could not understand that they had seen or heard on their journey anything relating to war on the frontiers, they saying they were commissioned never to speak or interfere about war; and it is supposed that their Queen may have ordered them to say a word about agreement and peace. The Marquis Albert continues at the court, nor as yet is anything more known than was announced by the writer on the 21st January, namely, that the King will give him 1,000 crowns per month, and employment (interienimento) to some of his captains. The Admiral departed without the Dukes de Guise and de Nemours, by whom Capella wrote lately that he was accompanied.*

Paris, 15th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Sig. Luigi Pasini.*]

1555.

March 15.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

29. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor sent one of his chamberlains to require (*richieder*) Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] to write to the warder of [the castle of Casale] to comport himself like a faithful and valorous commander, by keeping it, promising him, on the faith of a true Emperor, that should he not fail thus to do, he would reward him most honourably. Don Ferrante, after promising to execute the Emperor's will, said he was surprised that after the loss of the town of Casale, and other great events in Piedmont, about which had been consulted, he might have rendered his Majesty service, the Emperor had never chosen to say a word to him, nor allowed him to speak about his own affairs, sending to tell him lately, by Don Ruy Gomez, that his will was that he should never again return to the government of Milan, merely allowing him, in right of his chamberlainship, to enter his Majesty's chamber; complaining, in conclusion, that the Emperor has not acknowledged his indefatigable service and the devotion shown him by his whole family; praying the chamberlain to beseech his Majesty to grant him this one favour, namely, to let him depart speedily; and since the news of Casale his Excellency announces this wish more fully, *the Cardinal his brother having written to him especially, and sent to tell him by the Sig. Giulio Cavriano, that if ever he accepts either the title of Maggiordomo Maggiore, or similar titles and appointments from the King of England, he will no longer consider him his brother, nor worthy of having been born of the Gonzaga family.* The said Signor Giulio came to the Emperor to request him to relieve the Marquisate of Monferrat from the devastation it suffered from the Imperial troops, and asked audience solely to take leave to return to his Duke,* from whom he will, however, await orders [at Brussels] whether he is to go to England to perform the like office with King Philip. The Spaniards say the Emperor has remarked that not only did the Cardinal not choose to give notice or any account to his Majesty of the entry of the French into Casale, but did not even notify it to Don Ferrante, *who may indeed talk of going to Italy, though leave to that effect will never be obtained by him from the Emperor, who entertains a suspicion that the Gonzaga family has alienated itself from him and inclines towards France.*

The Count of Avignon, a vassal of the Duke of Savoy, has come post-wise to his Excellency, sent by his subjects in the valley of Aosta, to request him to go and provide for the common cause, and protesting that should he not go they will find a master to remedy their disasters. His Excellency, therefore, went immediately to the Emperor, and having narrated this to him, requested his permission to go and preserve what remains to him of his territories. The Emperor replied that after the Duke's last conversation with him on the subject he wrote certain things to his son, and that on receipt of the reply he would acquaint him with its results, adding that he

* Guglielmo Gonzaga, then 17 years old, the Duchy being ruled by the Cardinal Regent Ercole Gonzaga.

1555.

(the Emperor) also knew that of no personages of these states, (both because they are incapable of commanding armies, as also by reason of the rivalry between them,) could he avail himself as general, nor would they obey any other Italian than him (the Duke of Savoy), on account of his authority and position as the Emperor's nephew. The Duke rejoined that his Majesty was aware how very necessary it was for his private interests that he should depart, but that he would obey and await the reply from the King of England. A few days ago his Excellency sent to invite me to dine with him, and subsequently invited himself to dine with me, as he did, together with the Sigr. Gio. Batta. Gastaldo and Mons. de Colemo, the Duke's vassal, ambassador from the Duke of Ferrara; and after a variety of conversation the Duke of Savoy told me he had determined to go to his territory (*allo stato suo*), which he wished me to notify to your Serenity, whose good friend, son, and servant, he chose always to be, *commending your Serenity's prudence and forces, in high terms; the Sigr. Gio. Batta. Gastaldo doing the like.*

Brussels, 15th March 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

March 16.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

30. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor has sent a courier to King Philip in England, desiring him to send immediately for Don Garcia de Toledo; some say, in order to despatch him to Sienna, as he wishes to appoint the Marquis of Marignano, at Milan, colonel of the Spanish troops in Italy; which is taken amiss by those who manage the affairs of Don Bernardino de Mendoza, to whom the intention had been announced of attaching him to the Duke of Alva; and by the agent of the Marquis of Pescara, who, before being appointed to the light horse, had been promised by the King of England this command of the Spanish infantry, of which he was desirous. The Signory of Genoa has been assigned a sum in Spain, on account of their credit with the Emperor, and the amount being small, as compared with the debt, the Genoese agent lately urged full payment or the greater part of it, and being unable to obtain from the secretary Vargas a reply in conformity with his need, he went to the Bishop of Arras at Antwerp, where having heard about the loan of 500,000 ducats, contracted for by the King of England with the German merchants, the Fuggers, and Ketii (*sic*),* he purposes urging payment of the remainder of this debt, out of the sum to be disbursed by them in Spain; and he said that should this be denied him, he will go to the King of England, for whom solely, the Emperor's gentleman told him this provision had been made.

Antonio Doria's agent, who accompanied to Maastricht the prisoners given him by the Emperor, for the galleys, has returned in very sorry plight to Antwerp; having run the risk of his life, as the people of Maastricht lapidated him for bringing these slaves, sixty

* Query Schetz. (See Foreign Calendar 1553-1558, Index.)

1555.

of whom made their escape, complaining of being condemned to go and die at the oar for their opinions about religion; and he thinks that unless the others who went on, are conducted more cautiously, the like will take place with them. Yesterday the Auditor di Rota Agostini had audience of the Emperor, together with the Nuncio; and after saying that the cause of his being sent to the King and Queen of England, was to congratulate their Majesties and thank them for what they had done in the matter of religion, and to give the King the rose and sword. He made a very serious complaint against the greater part of the bishops in Spain, that they allowed many churches to go to ruin, and maltreat the canons, reproaching them with other misdemeanours worthy of great punishment; which matter was referred by his Majesty to his son.

Brussels, 16th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 17.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

31. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Pembroke, who is considered the chief personage in England, having more followers (*più seguito*) there than anybody, has arrived at Calais with only six servants, bringing letters from the King and Queen for the warder, desiring him to obey the Earl's orders. He has not said a word about the cause of his coming, which there and here has caused much comment. Some say that it is because the French have mustered in great force at Montreuil; and that from fear of their usual plots, he has been sent to make provision on that frontier. Others are of opinion, as before leaving England he engaged several captains, giving them pay, that King Philip has persuaded the Queen to make war on the King of France. Many suppose, that to facilitate the peace with his most Christian Majesty, the Emperor induced the Queen to send Lord Pembroke because the French hold him in great esteem. The Florentine Ambassador has received two autograph letters from his Duke, one addressed to the Emperor, the other to the King of England; the former to be delivered immediately with a mere verbal compliment; the latter to be forwarded express. Thus did he, and being unable to obtain audience as soon as he wished, he gave the one destined for the Emperor to his chamber attendant Messer Adriano; telling other persons that he was unacquainted with its contents.

Yesterday, the Emperor wrote for a long while with his own hand, retracting certain promises of audience; and despatched three couriers, one after the other in rapid succession, to England.

Brussels, 17th March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 19.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

32. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot of San Saluto, who left Brussels on the 13th instant, arrived here on the 16th with very favourable letters from the Emperor to Cardinal Pole, in accordance with the verbal com-

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munication made to the Abbot, *not merely approving the determination to hold the proposed conference, but with regard to this business referring himself entirely to the authority and judgment of his Right Reverend Lordship, who was to disregard inconvenience, nor fail, despite any fatigue or trouble whatever, to persevere in bringing the matter to a close; the Emperor giving it almost openly to be understood that such was his wish and desire. Contrary to general belief, the Abbot says that this goodwill and disposition was evinced by the Queen of Hungary, who expressed regret at being prevented by her sex from attending the future conference and being employed in it, and throughout this negotiation, as she earnestly desired.* With this resolve being therefore assured of the Emperor, Cardinal Pole wrote immediately to France, and for some unknown cause, the Prothonotary de Noailles not having yet departed, he had him despatched forthwith with a promise from him to send back a courier instantly, with the most Christian King's reply and decision, in order that his most illustrious Lordship may know at what time to set out, on his way across the Channel; so they await the courier, who is not expected to remain there more than 10 days or a fortnight. In the meanwhile the Cardinal hopes if not for peace, at least for some sort of truce, perceiving that both sovereigns (perhaps solely from finding themselves weary and exhausted) seem thus inclined. Has been told that this reply from the Emperor rejoiced them the more, as they apprehended and expected the contrary, fearing that besides other causes and respects, the news of the capture of Casale† might not only have hardened the Emperor's heart, but cause him entirely to retract the reply given by him to the Abbot (*ogni risposta et risoluzione data invasi* (sic) *questa nova all' Abbate*).‡ His intelligencer also told him of the persons suggested by Cardinal Pole as negotiators at this conference, and that he counselled the Emperor to send persons the most intimate with him, and of the highest authority, much time being gained and much labour spared by negotiating with the like, rather than with inferiors; so his Right Reverend Lordship is of opinion that should the King determine on accrediting two personages, he might send the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Emperor to appoint the Bishop of Arras, and Mons. de Praet, should his health admit of it;§ if not, some one else of the chief intimates, and perhaps Don Ferrante.*

* Of this celebrated stateswoman there is a sketch by the Venetian Secretary, Guidoto, who resided at her court in Hungary in 1525. It exists in his "report" to the Senate, of which I have a contemporary transcript containing an account of the masculine habits of Maria of Austria, thus:—

(1525, August.) "The most Serene Queen is about 22 years old, of diminutive stature, long and narrow face, rather comely (*venusta*), very spare (*magra molto*), with a slight colour, black eyes, her under lip rather thick, lively, never quiet either at home or abroad. Rides admirably, and manages a horse with as much address as the best horseman (*et cum uno cavallo fa quello, che ogni bon cavaleador potria far*). She is a good shot with the crossbow, is intellectual (*e ingenuosa*), and has the heart to do anything. It is generally supposed that by reason of her natural volatility (?) (*natura fluxa*), and from too much exercise and motion, she will have no posterity."

† The town of Casale was taken by the French in February 1555. (See Pere Daniel, *Histoire de France*, vol. 9, p. 779. Ed. Paris, 1755.)

‡ The signs which, according to Pashu's key, represent the letters i. n. v. a. s. i., were evidently made incorrectly.

§ Mons. de Praet died at Brussels early in October 1555. (See Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, date 8 October 1555.)

1555.

This news of the capture of Casale has made them at once proclaim the departure and despatch to Italy of the Duke of Alva, as already written, King Philip choosing him to depart forthwith; nothing but this despatch being now attended to, he will set out post-wise in the course of the present week, and being always accustomed to travel quickly, and not intending to stop long at Brussels, he may be expected to arrive at Milan very soon. He has already commenced exercising his authority, having appointed his eldest son Don Federico, a young man 20 or 22 years old, General of the Spanish troops in Lombardy, to start him with repute in the military profession.

According to the intention mentioned in his last, said what was necessary both to the Duke and the King, who with his usual graciousness said that both by word of mouth and in writing, he had given orders, which should now be repeated, for the Signory's ministers and affairs to be treated with such respect as he knew was the wish of the Emperor and of himself, in conformity with the friendship which had long subsisted between one and the other; and he told me that he considered the friendship of your Serenity one of the chief bulwarks of his Italian territories.

The Duke spoke at great length, saying that he knew better than the others what became his office, as for a long while, both in public and private, he had been aware of the goodwill both of the King and of the Emperor towards your Serenity, and in what account your interests were held by their Majesties, so that neither he nor his ministers would fail to have the greatest consideration and respect for them.

Secretary Erasso departed two days ago, having been despatched sooner than intended for pecuniary supply, and to hasten all the Emperor's instructions for the Duke, in order to shorten his stay; and he is also said to be the bearer of the decision about the coming to England [as Lord Chamberlain of King Philip] of Don Ferrante, in case he choose to accept it. The broker Pinelo has also come from Antwerp, to obtain, as he did, the confirmation and signature of King Philip (*da questa Maestà*) to a loan of 500,000 ducats made lately by the Antwerp merchants, who for their greater security chose him likewise (*anco essa*) to put his hand to it. The bargain purported, that the Emperor being debtor for that amount, now due in Spain, the creditors, receiving their usual interest, consented to prolong the payment for another year, their Majesties, on the other hand, binding themselves on the expiration of that term to give them the value in Antwerp at the rate of 80 pence per ducat, they holding securities to that amount in bonds (*obblighi*) and transfers (*assegnamenti*) from those towns (*quelle terre*) [in Flanders?]. By this prolongation their Majesties are enabled now to avail themselves of the supply, which had to be made, or was perhaps already made, for payment of that debt; and Don Juan Figueroa has already come hither, being sent by the Emperor to take his passage for Spain, and to bring thence as much money as he can from the fleet lately arrived [from the Indies], and from the rest which is expected (*et del resto che si aspetta*); and he is on the eve of departure.

1555.

As already stated, Lord Pembroke crossed the Channel to inspect the English fortresses; many persons say that he is also charged to dismiss many of the principal officials of the crown at Calais, whose religious opinions being evil (*li quali sentendo male della religione*), their Majesties doubt their fidelity, it being feared they may make some change; and it is said that even the soldiers and populace (*popolari*) there exceed their office (*escono dell' officio loro*), having comported themselves insolently about this matter of religion, being unable or unwilling to adapt themselves to the Catholic creed as they ought to do. The Queen is intent on its augmentation and diffusion here, having sent for many English friars of the orders of St. Dominick and St. Francis, who, to escape the past persecutions, withdrew beyond the sea, and lived in poverty in Flanders, in order to give them monasteries and the means of subsistence; and, they, showing themselves in public everywhere, are tolerably well received and kindly treated (*li qual frati comparendo per tutto pubblicamente sono honestamente ben veduti, et carezzati*). Sixteen Benedictine monks have also reassumed the habit and returned to the order spontaneously, although they were able to live, and had lived out of it much at ease and liberty, there being included amongst them the Dean of St. Paul's,* who has a wealthy revenue of well nigh 2,000; notwithstanding which, they have renounced all their temporal possessions and conveniences, and press for readmission into one of their monasteries. The entire 16 last week appeared in their habits before the Queen, who from joy, immediately on seeing them, could not refrain from shedding tears; and for [the adjustment of] this matter she has appointed six of the leading members of the Council, including the Chancellor [Gardiner], the Treasurer [William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester], the Comptroller [Sir Robert Rochester], and Secretary Petre, so that together with the Legate, they may, according to their judgment, decide what is most fitting and beneficial for the realm, both about these monasteries and all the church property in possession of the Crown. Her Majesty wishes it to be entirely restored to those who were deprived of it, should any of the original possessors be alive; and accordingly two delegates having already made their appearance on behalf of the order of Rhodes, there will be consigned to them without delay all the revenues of the commanderies held by the Crown, both in England and Ireland, though nothing is said of those which have passed into the hands of private individuals, and constitute the chief amount. With her Majesty's example, it is hoped that many others may do the like; and already in the city of Oxford a gentleman has announced his intention of restoring 200 marks rental derived from their monastery, to the Franciscan friars.

On the other hand, the Londoners, however, do not desist from

* John Howman, of the Forest of Feckenham, by which last name he is commonly known. In Machyn's Diary, p. 118, date 21 November 1556, there is the following entry:—"The same day was the new abbots of Westmynster putt in doctur Feckenham, late dene of Powles, and xiiij moo monkes sworne in." March 1555. The Venetian Ambassador writes distinctly that they were sixteen in number.

1555.

daily outrages against the Catholic religion, having not only again mutilated the statue of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which had been restored and put back in its place,* but even robbed several churches of the tabernacles of the sacrament; nor, at least at this commencement, does the government think fit to act with such rigour as becoming, hoping that by address and leniency, time, rather than severe punishment, may mitigate this their rage and fury.

After many days illness the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Bedford,† has departed this life, his vacant post being talked of for the Bishop of Ely,‡ ambassador to Rome, or Secretary Petre.

London, 19th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 21.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta)
Vol. 69, p. 104,
tergo.

33. THE DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

By the last advices from Brussels, the Signory is informed that the Emperor was expected at Antwerp, and in those parts, to provide money; and the military forces were ordered to be in readiness. In those borders French troops had shown themselves, and according to the advices from France his most Christian Majesty had ordered them to attempt the recovery of "New Hesdin," lately built by the Imperialists. The King was intent on providing money, and purposed going to Fontainebleau, where the Queen is expecting her delivery; and the most serene Queen of England is in like manner near her time. Is to communicate the advices as usual.

Ayes, 198. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

March 23.
Original
Letter Book of
Agostino Bar-
barigo in the
Venetian
Archives.

34. THE BISHOP of VITERBO, Papal Nuncio in France, to the Venetian Secretary, PHEBO CAPELLA.

It has been at length settled that a conference is to be held between the chief ministers of both their Majesties, as negotiated since some while by Cardinal Pole, and alluded to by him, the Nuncio, to Capella at Poissy. Received this intelligence yesterday, through a letter from Cardinal Pole, and proceeded immediately to Montereau-Fault-Yonne (*Monterio*), where he arrived at the sixth hour, when it was nearly night, and had immediate and most gracious audience of the King. The final arrangement is, that on the 20th or 26th April the Duke of Alva and the Bishop of Arras will be at Gravelines on behalf of the Emperor, the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine representing the King at Ardres, and the Bishop of Winchester will be at Guisnes in the name of the Queen of England, as also the Cardinal Legate Pole; and by means of

* In Machyn's Diary, date 14th March 1555 (pp. 82, 83), there is the following entry:—"In the nyght, ther serten velyens dyd breke the neke of the ymage of Saint Thomas of Cantrubere, and on of ys arms broke." The first mutilation of the *freestone* image of St. Thomas is noted by Machyn, 17th February 1555, p. 82.

† John Russell, first Earl of Bedford, died at his house in the Strand, London, 14th March 1555. (See Collins, vol. 1, p. 269.) Also Machyn, pp. 83, 84.

‡ Thomas Thirlby.

1555.

such good ministers it will perhaps please God to grant peace, about which he can say that he found his Majesty and the said ministers so very zealous and anxious to terminate the quarrels justly, that he has great hope it will be effected; and this day his Majesty has despatched Robertet hence to England. This morning, when on the eve of departure from Montereau, a courier arrived from Monsieur de Brissac with news of the capture of the castle [of Casale].

Melun, 23rd March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 23.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

35. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Earl of Pembroke having left Calais with 15 posters, went to Guisnes, and here the reason assigned is that the King and Queen of England sent him thither because they doubted the [good?] faith of the Marshal of Calais. The French were then victualling Ardres, which is within sight of Guisnes, and did the like at Montreuil and Marienburg, some of their forces marching more towards Liege and Luxemburg, in which places they burned two abbacies and some villages; and part went to Namur, burning everything of value in the territory. All the inhabitants of the town took flight, as it is not strong, and had only 100 foot soldiers for its defence; and many of the people of Nivelles, near Brussels, have sent much property hither.

Brussels, 23rd March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 24.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

36. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Letter about Don Ferrante Gonzaga, the Duke of Savoy, &c.

Yesterday Don Ferrante's secretary told me that the Secretary Erasso was come back from England with the decision about his Lord's business, and told him (Don Ferrante), in course of conversation, that it would be very difficult for him to have the post of *maggior-domo maggiore*, as the Duke of Alva did not choose to deprive himself of it, but that the King would make him chief of the Council, and captain general whenever his Majesty takes the field in person; to which Don Ferrante replied that he humbly thanked the King for these very loving offers, which he did not desire, but wished for and solicited a written declaration from the Emperor that he considers him an honest man (*huomo da bene*), as he had repeatedly caused this to be said to him, and immediate permission to go to his home (as he has hitherto expended here 50,000 crowns), and receive payment of 80,000 for which he is creditor, having for his Majesty's service in the war of Piedmont, pledged his word, his plate, and moveables. The Secretary Erasso having made this statement to the Emperor, and returned to his Excellency, told him he was commissioned by his Majesty to go and give account of his demands to the Queen [Maria of Hungary] at Antwerp, as she had with her the last process (*processo*) sent from Italy, of which the Emperor had not received information, and that then his Excellency would be despatched. Don Ferrante's secretary, both by

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speech and gesture, evinced apprehension that his master will again receive but words, and the members of his household say openly that neither the past services of Don Ferrante, and of the entire Gonzaga family, nor this fresh one on the part of the Cardinal, by declaring himself a most staunch imperialist (*imperialissimo*), and that by means of the Montferrat territory he will make a shield for the Emperor's interests, will avail to change his Majesty's will. After the arrival of Secretary Erasso the Emperor told the Duke of Savoy positively that he does not choose him to go into Italy, because his Excellency, not having sufficient forces to keep what territory remains to him, he and all his vassals would be compelled to turn French (*a farsi Francese*), and that, remaining here, besides the grade of general, he will have the command of the 5,000 Spaniards in these parts, their colonel having had leave to go to Spain on account of the death of his wife; which troubled him (the Duke) more than ever, *and well nigh in despair he two hours afterwards mounted his horse and went to a monastery near Brussels to keep Lent.* The Signor Giovanni Battista Gastaldo, who has often had hopes from the Bishop of Arras and the Duke of Alva that the King of England would reward him for the services rendered to his father during so many years, and give him some honourable appointment, is much grieved to hear that the Duke of Alva is going as lieutenant-general in Italy, the charge of state affairs at Naples being given to Don Francisco de Toledo, and that of military matters to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, whilst at Milan the affairs of state are entrusted to Don Diego de Azevedo, and those of war; *and he said in public . . . that it was evident that neither the Emperor nor the King of England will trust any Italian, and he prayed God to grant that the Italians united, may not cause their Majesties to lose their Italian possessions,* and that after paying all his debts at Brussels he will go to his marquisate of Cassano, and perhaps into the Brescian territory, whither his wife and sons write to him that they have sent all the best of his effects.*

Brussels, 24th March 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

March 26.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

37. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

These Lords of the Council, either through the accusation or revelation of some one, have lately had suspicion that certain inhabitants of Cambridge, more daring and licentious than the rest, not choosing to inconvenience themselves (incomodarsi) by living according to the present religion, had leagued together and privily collected a large supply of arms (una grande municion di arme) for a rising (per uscir) when the moment should seem fit to them,† not

* In the original, "chiaro si può comprender, che nè l'Imperator nè Re d'Inghilterra vogliano haver fede in alcun Italiano, et che Dio faccia, che tutti questi non vadino a perder alle loro Maesta i Stati di Italia."

† Machyn alludes to this conspiracy as follows: "The XVIII day of March was broth to the Towre owte of Cambridg shyre Master Bowes, Master Cutt, and Master Hynd and dyvers odur, for a new conspyrase, the wyche shuld have byne don in Suffolk and odur places." (See Diary, p. 83.)

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merely to conspire against the faithful and Catholics (*li fedeli et Cattolici*), termed by them Papists, but, with the numerous adherents whom they expected to have, march upon this city, hoping (*sperando*) with the assistance of the Londoners who share their opinions, not merely by slaughter and maltreatment to expel all strangers hence, but even to attack their Majesties, and, under the pretext of religion, kindle such a flame and cause such confusion as in their power, to the detriment and perhaps utter ruin of the King and Queen, as the authors of this return to Catholicism.

In order to convince themselves and verify the suspicion and danger, the Lords of the Council immediately caused the arrest and removal to the Tower of many of the inhabitants of Cambridge, including an individual considered one of the gentry of the place (*uno delli Signor de li*), by name Anthony Bowes (*Antonio Boos*), a man utterly averse to religion; and other arrests are made daily in this town, the prisoners being strictly examined to ascertain the origin and basis of the plot, and detect the conspirators; so some severe demonstration and act of justice is expected, it appearing to everybody that the graciousness and clemency hitherto exercised by their Majesties in pardoning everybody, and especially the Ipswich people, who laid a similar plot last summer, merely give cause, through the hope of pardon, for the daily perpetration of fresh excesses, instead of mitigating or eradicating the ill will of persons of this sort; it having been as it were discovered (*come scoperto*) that a few days before [the intended outbreak at Ipswich], in the county of Norfolk, whither one of the condemned heretics by name Dr. Taylor had been sent to be burned,* the country-people theret (part of whom were subsequently arrested) resenting this execution, had agreed that on the day and at the hour when it was to be done they would set fire to a number of houses, and raise a great tumult; not merely to release that Doctor from the stake, but to punish and revenge themselves on those whose religion was opposed to their own.

A few days ago, the Earl of Devonshire [Edward Courtenay] through a friend of his, wrote a letter in English to the King, being induced to take this step and confirmed in it, by the great graciousness and benignity which he understood the King exercised, by interceding for every one with the most Serene Queen, having sought and obtained the release (*la deliberatione*)† of many persons. When the King received the letter and saw it written in this language, he had him answered, that he was to write in French or Latin, that his Majesty might not have to employ an interpreter, but hear from himself without having to confide his letters to any one, thus showing that he did him the favour to bear him the same good will as demonstrated by his Majesty towards all the others who had recourse to him? (*alle*

* In Machyn's Diary, date 6 February 1555, there is the following entry:—"Doctur Tayller was sent in-to Suffolke, and to be brentt." Doctor Rowland Taylor had been Bishop of Lincoln, and was burnt on Aldham Common, in Suffolk, on the 9th February 1555. (See Froude, vol. 6, p. 323.)

† Nel paese di Norwich dove fu mandato ad abbrugiare uno delli heretici condannati ditto il Dottor Teler, quelli paesani, etc.

‡ "Deliberar per liberar." See Boerio, Venetian Dictionary.

1555.

irudee) (sic). *The Earl wrote a second time in French, recommending himself to his Majesty, and very submissively beseeching him to be his protector and deign to take him into his service (et dignarsi di accettarlo nel suo servizio). The friend who delivered the letter is now very anxiously awaiting the result of this office (il frutto che haverà questo officio), but fears that the discovery of this plot and conspiracies may greatly delay his Majesty's favour.*

Three days ago there arrived here Monsignor Antonio Agustini, "Auditor di Rota," sent by the Pope to visit and thank their Majesties for the auspicious events of the religion (*delli felici successi della religione*), and to present them with the rose, sword, and hat (*capello*), which his Holiness is in the habit of sending to one prince or another; and so yesterday, the day of the Annunciation and commencement of the year according to the English style, the ceremony was performed in the private chapel of her Majesty's palace, there being present the most illustrious Legate, all the ambassadors, and the lords of the Court. Monsignor Agostini, after the mass, presented the rose to the most Serene Queen, and the sword and hat to the most Serene King; accompanying the present with a brief from his Holiness which was read in public, replete with praise of their Majesties and his Holiness' great love and affection [for them?]; and the most illustrious Legate in his episcopal habit, with mitre and cope, having recited certain prayers over the presents, and given the usual benediction, the most Serene Queen evinced the utmost delight at hers, for after a short prayer, she carried it in her own hand and placed it on its altar. In the afternoon, they made the joust destined for the close of carnival, but which was delayed until that day, owing to the absence of Don Ruy Gomez, who, in company with Sir George Howard, an English gentleman,* was the maintainer (*mantenitore*) [challenger?] making a stately appearance, bearing themselves bravely, as did the King and all the other jousts, in number twenty, both with regard to their liveries and their tilting; all ending well, and causing great pleasure and consolation, especially to the Queen, who, however, could not conceal her fear and disquietude (*gelosia*) about the King, sending to pray him (having done his duty, and run many courses (*et havendo corso assai*) as in truth he did) not to encounter further risk, which request he gratified.

The Duke of Alva is still here, but according to report will depart in the course of this week, taking the Duchess with him across the Channel, and then leaving her, will proceed postwise.

Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] has sent all the correspondence between himself and Don Francesco of Este,† to convince King Philip and

* I can find no notice in Collins' Peerage of Sir George Howard, who was evidently in favour with Queen Mary. Shortly after this joust, she sent him to Brussels with letters to the Emperor and to the Queen Regent of Flanders. (See Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 8-9 June 1555, p. 174.) There is an account of this joust, "at the tyllt at Vestmynster," in Machyn's Diary, date 25th March 1555, p. 84, "Ser George Haward" being mentioned, but the name of Ruy Gomez is omitted.

† Don Francesco of Este, second son of Alfonso I., Duke of Ferrara and Lucrezia Borgia, was in the French interests, and had sent a challenge to Don Ferrante, for which he apologized by letters addressed to the Emperor, the Queen Regent of Flanders, and Bishop of Arras, as stated by the Venetian Ambassador Badoer, in a despatch dated Brussels 4th August 1555.

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the whole Court that Don Francesco has unjustly slandered him; but he has not yet sent the reply to the letter lately addressed to him, which will more clearly elicit the opinion of this Court, though everybody will speak very cautiously on the subject by reason of his friends and supporters here, notwithstanding which, I shall not fail to write freely what is said about him.

London, 26th March 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

March 27.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.

Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

38. CARDINAL POLE to the EMPEROR.

Received his Majesty's letter from the Abbot of San Saluto, who narrated to him the gracious audience received and what the Emperor answered him about the proposal for peace. The brother of the French ambassador departed with this reply, and subsequently the English ambassador in France wrote to the Queen that the King of France approved what her Majesty designed about the place of meeting for the deputies on both sides, and had also named those whom he purposed sending. Prays the Emperor to do the like with regard to the persons to be sent by him, and the time of meeting; about which Pole is writing to the Nuncio, in order not to molest his Majesty farther.

From London, 27th March 1555.

[Italian.]

March 27.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.

Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

39. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP of CONZA, Nuncio at Brussels.

Yesterday the Queen sent to show him a letter from her ambassador in France, dated Peronne the 20th, telling her that when speaking with the King about the affair of the peace, and the places proposed by the Queen for the deputies, namely, Ardres and Gravelines, and Calais and some other neighbouring place for the mediators, his Majesty seemed to approve of them, and said he had determined to send in his name the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable; and the Queen wishing Pole to write this to the Emperor, he does so by the accompanying letter, to which the Nuncio will obtain the speediest possible reply, to make amends for the delay caused by the Emperor's indisposition. It is not requisite to await any farther reply from the prothonotary, as this was received from the King's own lips, who moreover told the English ambassador that he could but anticipate a good result from this negotiation, as the Queen, its mediatrix, has been elected by God to accomplish great things to her own honour and to the comfort of Christendom, as she had already commenced doing by the reconciliation. The Nuncio can communicate with the English ambassador at Brussels, who will most assuredly perform every good office for this end.

From London, 27th March 1555.

P.S.—Conferred to-day with their Majesties, and, discoursing about the affair of the peace, the Queen informed him that she is writing to the Emperor about it, urging him to appoint the commis-

1555.

sioners as soon as possible, and desiring her ambassador to do the like, and to send the answer instantly;* so it is evident that in this matter likewise her Majesty does not fail to do all that can be expected from her piety. Hopes that this fresh affair of Casale will not alter the Emperor's good disposition in this matter, and that, besides his regard for God and the common weal, he will be greatly influenced by a desire to gratify the pious wish of this most serene and most holy Queen his daughter.

To-day Monsignor Agostini† presented the Pope's other gifts (*munusculi*) to the Queen, who received everything with such devotion as becoming her great piety.

28th March.

[*Italian.*]

March 31.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv, cl. x.

40. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP of CONZA [GIROLAMO MUZZARELLI], Nuncio at Brussels.

Wrote to him on the 27th and 28th what the King of France had said to the English ambassador about the affair of the peace. Then, last evening, the French secretary Robertet arrived, having been sent express by the King, and after confirming his determination about the places and the two personages to be sent, added much concerning his Majesty's readiness and good disposition in this business, and the hope of a good result. As to the time, he says the King did not think he could send his representatives before the 20th to the 28th April, having to await the return of Robertet, and the reply and total resolve of the Emperor; and with regard to this matter of the time, he refers himself to what shall be deemed most expedient in England. This morning, when Robertet, accompanied by the French ambassador, came to Pole, they had not yet had audience of the Queen, who, Pole is sure, will not fail to write and perform every good office, as she has done hitherto. The Nuncio thus sees the present state of the matter, and how desirable it is to gain time. Is very sure he will gladly do whatever is necessary for the common weal, and when everything is settled about the going, they will be able to learn from the ministers of the sovereigns their will about the attendance of the Nuncios, and Pole will also write in this sense to the Bishop of Viterbo [Nuncio in France], who has asked him for instructions on the subject. Robertet will await the reply and orders of his Imperial Majesty, that he may take them back with him to France.

From London, 31st March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

March 31.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

41. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news of the Pope's death was brought to the Emperor by a courier from the Cardinal of Trent, so his Majesty desired the Secretary Vargas to go to Antwerp to consult the Queen [Maria of Hungary, Governess of the Low Countries] and the Bishop of Arras

* For the reply, see Foreign Calendar, April 11, 1555, p. 162.

† Antonio Agostini. See Foreign Calendar, March 9, 1555, p. 159.

1555.

about what is to be done, both with regard to the creation of the new Pope and the preservation of the imperial dominions in Italy. The Emperor wrote also to the King of England to despatch Cardinal Pole immediately, and he has already sent a gentleman to the Cardinal of Burgos, who is at a monastery at a short distance from Brussels, to set out immediately; and he wrote in like manner to the Cardinals of Augsburg and Trent. The Queen and the Bishop of Arras are also to decide who is to go as governor to Naples, so that Cardinal Pacheco may proceed to Rome, and whether Don Juan Manrique should quit Sienna and go to Rome.* They are to make as good a bargain as they can with the Fugger and Schetz firms for pecuniary supply for the going to Italy of the Duke of Alva, who, as told me by one of his gentlemen, wrote freely to Queen Maria that he would not set out without the necessary pecuniary supply, and unless the ammunition promised him from Germany was sent in advance, and that he could have an army in the field, giving it to be understood that the Siennese territory must be evacuated [by the French?], and saying that all the authority given him by the Emperor and King Philip is not sufficient to enable him to serve them well and to preserve his own honour.

The Grand Master of Rhodes writes to the commander (*commandator*) who negotiates his affairs with the Emperor, desiring him to inform his Majesty that the Order is well nigh determined to disarm its four galleys, not being able to avail themselves of grain and biscuit from Sicily, according to their usual custom, by reason of the unbearable duties laid on them by the Viceroy, who evinces hatred towards the Grand Master, both on account of his being a Frenchman, as also because he would not give the Viceroy's son a commandery, yielding an annual revenue of 3,000 crowns, instead of doing his duty to the Emperor.

The ambassador from the Queen of England has this day received a courier, with a commission to obtain from the Emperor permission for her to draw from Spain (*di poter trazzar dalla Spagna*) 50,000 crowns, in addition to the 300,000 which she took from the merchants; but he could not obtain audience, nor yet the ambassador from Florence, who presses for it greatly; both one and the other being told that his Majesty is very [unwell?]

Brussels, 31st March 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

42. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Besides what was heard four days ago by letters from the English ambassador in France† of the 20th ulto. about the most Christian King's appointment (immediately after the arrival of Prothonotary Noailles) of the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine to attend the proposed conference, the Secretary Robertet arrived here two days

* In the Foreign Calendar, date 16 July 1555, it is shewn that Don Juan Manrique was then Imperial Ambassador Extraordinary at Rome. Badoer writes the name *Mercet*, which I am enabled to correct by means of the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 1553-1556.

† In Mr. Turnbull's Calendar there are no letters of this date from Dr. Wotton.

1555.

ago, having been sent express for this purpose, confirming the fact, and saying that the personages aforesaid will delay their departure until the Queen and the Legate shall have minutely arranged and established the day of the conference, adding that his most Christian Majesty's successes in Italy did not render him so proud and elate as to prevent his having more regard for the universal interest and benefit of Christendom than (*et*) (*sic*) [*che*?] for his own personal and particular advantage, with many other words of this sort, which give assurance of his most Christian Majesty's good disposition in this matter; reminding the Queen and Cardinal Pole that they should urge the Emperor to make choice of persons such as those of his King, so that, knowing the mind of their Prince, and being very sure of it, they may by their authority, without delay, solve many doubts and difficulties which others could only do after a long interval. They therefore sent immediately to the Emperor about this nomination, urging him to make his own, in order that the conference may be held as soon as possible, the Queen in the meanwhile detaining the secretary until the reply arrive, though, as to the conference, however much it may be hastened, they do not think it can take place until after Easter, as it is so near at hand.

During this interval they do not fail providing as much as possible, chiefly by money, for the affairs of Italy, bad news of some sort being received daily, such as the loss of the castle of Casale, received three days ago, and, although foreseen by many persons, it nevertheless greatly disquiets everybody, *and they are afraid of worse, Colonel Cesare of Naples, who is in Volpiano,* having sent to protest that unless speedily succoured with a large supply of money and other supplies of which he is destitute he shall be compelled to make terms from inability long to hold out, and the senate of Milan writes that the affairs of that state are in a bad way.*

The Duke of Alva therefore solicits prompt supplies, not choosing to stir without a certain and secure pledge in hand, as therein consists the entire remedy for all the irregularities (*disordini*) and losses hitherto incurred; so until he hears what has been done by Erasso and King Philip's treasurers (*et gli thesorieri di questa Maestà*), who were sent across the Channel for this purpose (nor can their report be long delayed), he will not set out. Don Alonso de Pimentello was immediately sent hence to Spain to embark and bring by way of Genoa the 6,000 Spaniards, of whom the levy which was ordered some months ago is supposed to have been effected, and which on his arrival, he having been appointed colonel of a part of this force, may be marched towards the coast, King Philip (*questa Maestà*) having determined to increase the amount of the Spanish soldiery in Italy to 14,000 or 16,000 men, for distribution in his territories, thinking that they will serve him more faithfully and advantageously than those of other nations.

With regard to the suspected conspiracy at Cambridge, the Lords

* A town in Piedmont, 5 leagues N.E. of Turin.

1555.

of the Council are proceeding to the examination of the prisoners (procedono alla examinatione delli incarcerati), and it is said that fresh arrests are made daily; but, as usual with them, everything is done very privily, no one daring (non havendo alcun ardire) to speak about it, so that with difficulty can the truth be ascertained, save at the end, when on the sudden we shall witness either the punishment or the acquittal; wherefore, as yet, opinions about this case vary, some persons representing it as very momentous, anticipating great discoveries (con expettatione di grandi cose), whilst others treat it very lightly, as mere suspicion, which, if of usual occurrence elsewhere, may here be said to have dominion (la qual se in alcun' altra parte suole haver luogo, quì si può dire che sia nel regno suo).

To comfort the Queen, and give her heart and courage, three most beautiful infants were brought last week for her Majesty to see, they having been born a few days previously at one birth, of a woman of low stature (*picciola statura*) and great age like the Queen, and who after the delivery found herself strong (*è rimasta gagliarda*) and out of all danger; and the sight of this woman and her infants greatly rejoiced her Majesty.

London, 1st April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

43. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Ferrante has just been to visit me, saying that his affair being settled favourably, and having determined to return to Italy, he wished to acquaint me with the whole for your information; and he said that not having chosen to obtain (*che per non haver voluto attener*) the charge of "*primo cavaliero*" of the King of England, a newly-invented grade, and so many difficulties having been made about giving him the others, he resolved to return to his own country, to which the Emperor had consented, having given orders for his good-service certificate to be made out for him,* and giving him 4,000 crowns annual revenue, derivable from feudatories (*vassalli*) in the kingdom of Naples, and the expectancy for his son Andrea of a commandery yielding from 1,500 to 2,000 crowns, as also 20,000 ready money for the expenses incurred by him at this court; and that with regard to the 90,000 crowns for which he is creditor, the Emperor sent Secretary Erasso to tell him that he would provide for it subsequently, Don Ferrante remarking to me, that this might be, either for the purpose of keeping a curb upon him, or from inability to make the payment at present.

The Emperor has despatched the Flemish Secretary Bave (*Baves*) to Antwerp, to Queen Maria, to let her know what the English ambassador had said to him about the peace, sending her also a letter from Cardinal Pole, which was delivered by the Nuncio's

* Che le fosse fatta la carta di bon servir.

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secretary to the chamberlains, the Nuncio having been prevented going by indisposition; and his Majesty gave the secretary orders about the choice of commissioners, the election of whom seems difficult to everybody, the Emperor having need of the Bishop of Arras about his person, whilst Mons. de Praet is grievously ill, and his Majesty has desired the Duke of Alva to come to Brussels immediately; for the purpose it is said of proceeding to Italy. Some of the chief personages have asserted that his Majesty might avail himself of Don Ferrante, and of Gio. Battista Gastaldo, and that he ought to do so.

Encloses a list of Cardinals made for the Imperial Government, and showing how they may be expected to vote at the coming election.

Brussels, 2nd April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

44. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English ambassador has sent his secretary to me to say he has had a courier from the Queen with commission to go immediately to inform the Emperor that by the reply received from the King of France, he says he is content to send to negotiate the peace, and that he has appointed as his commissioners the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, whom he will send to Ardres, as soon as he hears that the Emperor has made choice of his commissioners and sent them to Gravelines, and that the Queen would send her commissioners to Calais, that they may confer, first with one side and then with the other, to adjust matters; and that his most Christian Majesty gave him to understand that the affairs being so entangled as they are, he thinks it will be difficult to arrive at any adjustment, yet he believes that the Queen having it may be said effected miracles concerning the matter of religion in her own realm, the like may possibly be witnessed through her Majesty's medium in this negotiation. The English secretary has asked for audience of the Emperor, as the ambassador wished to speak with his Majesty on the subject, and they gave him hopes of obtaining it, although the Emperor is in bed and seriously indisposed, as he is to urge the speedy nomination of the commissioners.

The Mantuan ambassador Signor Giulio Cavriano departs to-day, on his way back to the Duke, and to wait upon the Cardinal in case he require his attendance for the journey to Rome, and in the most loving terms possible he vowed to me that the Cardinal, the Duke, Madame, and Don Ferrante, have for their true aim, always to be considered the good servants of the Republic, adding that Don Ferrante, as a prudent personage, *for the security of his affairs, is solely intent on not giving umbrage to the Emperor and the King of England, with regard to his failing to serve their Majesties*; telling me that he really did not know what the Emperor would determine with regard to sending his Excellency to England, as there was he knew not what difficulty, on account of the Duke of Alva, which

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impedes the whole affair. In the course of the conversation he complained of the very great [calumnies to which?] Don Ferrante [had been subjected?] for the reason which he sent to tell the Cardinal [Ercole Gonzaga], namely, that he had served the Emperor more fervently than he had served God, and that he [Giulio Cavriano] having spoken to the Emperor on the subject, after telling him why he had been sent to his Majesty, requested him to make better acknowledgment for the service of his Lords, and to punish those who had calumniated them; and when the Emperor asked him who these enemies who had slandered his Lords were, he replied that his Majesty might well know them, meaning to imply the Bishop of Arras. The Emperor rejoined, that as for the Cardinal, his slanderers needed no other punishment than to be stigmatized for their French bias, as the Cardinal's deeds might have convinced every one, and that towards Don Ferrante he would shew himself loving in what he could.*

The messenger who came hither in five days from Trent, having brought from the Cardinal the news of the Pope's death, was sent off immediately by his Majesty to the King of England. The Cardinal of Burgos says he will go post-wise, but will await more certain news than was brought by the messenger of the Cardinal of Trent, who wrote that the Pope was at the extremity, but that, according to an advice received by the Cardinal of Mantua, he had expired. From what is said by the chief personages of this court the Cardinal of England will not go to Rome, even should he see the Emperor persist in this opinion.

Postscript.—The English ambassador sends me word that he has had audience of the Emperor, who first made him wait a long while in the antechamber, and having found him in bed, his Majesty apologised for the delay on account of his great indisposition, and that he could scarcely move or speak, and in reply to what the ambassador said about sending commissioners, promised an answer in two days.†

Brussels, 2nd April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

45. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, betimes, Don Ferrante departed, having given out that he was going away in the afternoon, so that no one might pay him ceremonious compliments, as told me by Misser Nadal Busi, his Excellency's agent, who came to me in his Excellency's name to acquaint me with the conversation which took place with the Emperor when he took leave of his Majesty, saying that Don Ferrante told the Emperor that, as he was no longer fit to serve either him or the King of England, his lord, he would, with his

* Et che verso il Sigr. Don Ferrante si dimostrera amorevole in quello che la potesse.

† Sir John Masone gives a full account of this audience in his letter to Queen Mary, date Brussels, 11 April 1555. (See Foreign Calendar, p. 162.)

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Imperial Majesty's good leave, go and reside at Mantua, assuring the Emperor that he should always continue to serve him mentally, in like manner as he had done practically during 33 years; adding that he had no hope of ever seeing his Majesty again, both because his Excellency himself was old and indisposed, and also because he thought the Emperor was going to enjoy the repose of life in Spain. He thanked his Majesty infinitely for the reward conceded him, which he held most dear, both as it would enable him to render testimony to the world of his being in favour with the Emperor, and because he should thus defend himself better against the treachery of his enemies, and especially from the Duke of Parma, which he had acquired for having served his Majesty well; and he requested him to have payment made him for the guard and his other stipendiaries, who were creditors for nine arrears (*nuove paghe*). Then kneeling before the bed, beseeching permission to kiss his hand, the Emperor replied, putting an arm round his neck, and his words being choked by a flood of tears, said that he also thought they never would see each other again, both on account of age and by reason of their ailments, which gave them cause to be weary of this world, showing his hands crippled with gout, saying he had now the worst of life,* and that he considered himself so well served by Don Ferrante that he could not but greatly commend him for fidelity (*fede*), courage, intelligence, and counsel, but that he (the Emperor) would tell him freely that, what with his long malady and constant occupations of late, which had prevented him from examining and acquainting himself with his affairs, as was his wont, and what with Don Ferrante's great calumniators, he had conceived some doubt of him in his mind, but that was entirely dissipated, and that the cause why the King his son had not given him the charge of *maggior-domo maggiore* was attributable to the interests of his dearest ministers, who did not let him know Don Ferrante's great worth; but as they were nevertheless his good servants, they will at some future period remind his Majesty that he should make use of him, which he (the King) will perhaps not be able or willing to do;† and that although he might have given this command to his son, he had not chosen to compel him, in order not to disturb the current of his thoughts (*per non interromper i suoi pensieri*), and because nothing good could have been effected unless both had been of the same mind; apologising for his son greatly, and blaming his ministers greatly, and, putting his hand to his heart, he swore on the word (*sopra la fede*) of a true gentleman and prince that he intended (*che haveva in animo*) severely to punish those who had calumniated Don Ferrante; and that, as a greater mark of the love he bears him, he gave him, besides the other rewards, a life annuity of 6,000 crowns, payable in Genoa, so that it could never be impeded by the ministers; promising to cancel his bond, as soon as possible and release the effects given by him as security for the 90,000 crowns which he spent for the need of the war in Piedmont, and

* Esser al presente peggio della vita.

† Li quali però per esserli buoni servitori vorranno a qualche tempo ricordargli che se ne serva de lui et ch'egli non potrà ò non vorrà forse.

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that he would readily oblige him by paying his retinue and the guard for his escort into Italy. On his departure he said to him that, although he, the Emperor, did not believe that any other resolve would come from the King, he nevertheless requested Don Ferrante to remain some days at Antwerp, so that in case he sent him the grade of *maggiordomo maggiore*, he might be pleased to go and serve him, according to the promise given. This his Excellency assured the Emperor he would do, and departed, the tears in his eyes; and in the antechamber, turning to the persons there present, he said aloud that he thanked God that his enemies had not had the power to make him lose the Emperor's favour. The agent told me besides, as of himself, that he knew *Don Ferrante to be very anxious to serve the Republic, and that it would be advantageous both for himself and the State*, but that having now received such great reward from the Emperor, he, the agent, suspected he would be inclined to repose instead of any longer subjecting himself to the fatigue of the military profession, commencing a long discourse about his great valour, experience, and sincerity, so that it seemed as if he had come on purpose to make it; and he said that his Excellency would then go with speed to Italy, without stopping more than two days with the Elector Palatine, with whom he is slightly connected, and who has invited him; and another day at Augsburg, to pay his respects to the King of the Romans.

The English Ambassador, by command of his Queen, is urging the Secretary Vargas to obtain a speedy reply from the Emperor about the choice of commissioners [for the conference]; and his Majesty having heard the opinions of the Queen [Maria of Hungary] and the Bishop of Arras, with regard to the orders to be given to the Ambassador at Rome touching the election of the Pope, has determined to send him his instructions by the Abbot Brisegno [Trissino?], who is one of those who made out the list of Cardinals sent by me, and is said always to have served the Emperor by discovering the opinions of such as are inclined towards his Majesty or opposed to him. The Emperor has promised to remunerate him handsomely at the first "*Consulta*," and he will depart post-wise. Don Garcia [di Toledo] has come from England, and will not go to Milan until the arrival here of the Duke of Alva.

Brussels, 6th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 6.

Deliberazioni
(senza Segreto),
vol. 69, p. 408,
tergo.

46. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Have heard through several advices, that the Emperor and the most Christian King were to send commissioners to the borders of Picardy, to treat a certain composition between their Majesties; with the intervention also of the agents of England, which news he is to communicate to the Porte.

Ayes, 135. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

1555.

April 6.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
vol. 69, p. 108
tergo.

47. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning the Conference of
March.

As we are expecting shortly, from the Imperial and French courts, and also from England, letters announcing with greater certainty and foundation the result of this conference and negotiation for peace or agreement :

Put to the ballot, that the present matter about writing to Constantinople be deferred until the arrival of the letters aforesaid, so that the news to be despatched thither may be pondered exactly (*integramente*).

Ayes, 63. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

48. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot Brisegno [Trissino ?] departed this morning post-wise for Rome, and the Emperor, after having had many letters given him addressed to Cardinals, sent to say that when mounting on horseback, he was to go to his Majesty, who chose to tell him by word of mouth on what persons his Ambassador may rely, with regard to their exerting themselves well, to rule the others in their election of the Pope ; and whom he is, in fact, to support without causing suspicion, they being (I have heard) Morone and England. The Emperor sent the list of these Cardinals to his son, and to his [the Emperor's] brother, that they may write in conformity.

The Queen of England writes to her Ambassador, and Cardinal Pole to the Emperor, that the King of France informs him that he is content to send his commissioners, on the 20th or 25th instant. When this was announced to the Bishop of Arras, (who returned from Antwerp last evening,) with a request that he would communicate it to the Emperor immediately, that he might decide forthwith, the Bishop replied that the Emperor had sent for him, for no other purpose than to decide about the commissioners for the conference ; saying that to-morrow he would give him the reply ; adding as it were with a laugh* that the term which the King seemed to desire, was too brief ; and that would to God he wished for peace as truly as the Emperor does. Monsr. Benincourt [Bugnicourt], Governor of Artois, after being despatched by Queen Maria, with the hope of having speedily to make the necessary preparations, has returned post-wise to the Emperor to let him again know that the French are so increasing their forces everywhere, and have so many means, that unless he speedily strengthen his garrisons and send to pay the soldiers, he will lose many places ; the governor exonerating himself from any disaster which may occur hereafter ; and that the Spaniards in Hesdin had demanded the three arrears of pay which were due to them *within six days, as otherwise they would mutiny*.

Will not ask for audience, not merely because the Emperor is ill in bed, and refused it to the Ambassador from Florence, who demanded it most earnestly for many days to speak to him about

* Aggiungendo con un modo di rider.

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the provision to be made for the affairs of Sienna, but because it was denied thrice to the English Ambassador, who wished to speak to his Majesty about the peace, and had orders from the Queen not to allow himself to be referred to the ministers, and also because Don Pedro de Vargas told him, Badoer, that many maladroit Ambassadors, and others, regardless of the Emperor's serious indisposition, and great present anxieties, complain of not being able to have audience of him.

Brussels, 7th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

49. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Wrote last on the 4th instant,* on which day they heard the news of the Pope's death, as transmitted express from Augsburg by the most Serene King of the Romans, and confirmed subsequently by Monsignor Bia, a gentleman in the service of the Cardinal of Trent, who despatched him in haste to the Emperor and King Philip. Though as yet neither the King nor the Legate have any news or certainty from Rome, yet do they not doubt the fact.† Cardinal Pole, being utterly devoid of all ambition and desire, (*lontanissimo da ogni ambizione et passione*) will remain here, as intended by him, he being also indisposed with catarrh causing a little fever, which has confined him to his bed for the last two days, though thus far it is not considered a thing of any importance. It is not thought that the King and Queen will urge him to move, even should the conclave be prolonged, and that he could go thither conveniently. Nor is it supposed that the conference appointed to be held on the other side of the Channel will on account of this death, be impeded or delayed by the Emperor, the nomination of whose plenipotentiaries is expected hourly; but on the part of France they rather anticipate delay, not only by reason of the absence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, one of the negotiators, appointed by the King, and who is expected to set out for Italy immediately with the other Cardinals, but also because his most Christian Majesty will perhaps choose to delay and await the election of the new Pope. So as soon as the Emperor's nomination is known it will be sent off to France immediately, and as the Secretary Robertet is waiting here for the purpose, he will soon dispel this suspense.

I am assured that the Duke of Alva, besides the other causes and considerations assigned by me, is detained here by the Emperor until the decision of Don Ferrante be known, it being contrary to his Majesty's custom, and indecorous for Don Ferrante, to await the Duke's removal before succeeding to his post, unless he be first provided for (*se prima non e provvisto et risoluto cid che habbi esser di lui*). This decision must by this time be manifest, for two days ago King Philip sent back the courier Portiglio with his answer to

* Letter not found.

† Pope Julius III. died at Rome 23rd March 1555. (See l'Art de vérifier les Dates.)

1555.

the Emperor's letter on this subject. *From what I hear on good authority, it is not at all in accordance with the will (al voler) either of Don Ferrante or of the Emperor, for (perchè), although his Imperial Majesty (sua Cesarea Maestà) by an autograph letter (bollettino), insisted on his being requited (compiaciuto) with the post of Lord High Chamberlain [of King Philip], and Don Ferrante announced his acceptance of it during the Duke's absence, binding himself to give it back to him should he resign his governments of Italy, provided he [Don Ferrante] were then given the government of Naples; yet notwithstanding this, all the Spanish noblemen of the Court made strong suit (gagliarda instantia) against Don Ferrante, having risen to a man, though not one of them had the courage to remonstrate with the King by word of mouth, but through his confessor* (to whom they had recourse as to a person who is active and busies himself much in negotiations and speaks freely) they let his Majesty know, that were he to confer this office, they would all desert him and go back to Spain, making a semi-protest (con un mezzo protesto), that they would not receive commands from Don Ferrante, laying to his charge so many acts of rapine, infidelity, insolence, and other crimes, that it would be more to the honour and service of his Majesty to have him beheaded as an example for other ministers, instead of keeping him about his person in such a capacity. This announcement made by the Friar† greatly disturbed and irritated the King, who thus perceived the opinion entertained by his courtiers of Don Ferrante (vedendo in qual opinione delli sui, esso Signor si trovi), and how great a commotion would take place here in his court were the post of Lord High Chamberlain to be conferred on him, so that although at first he was inclined to obey the Emperor, he has now determined (as told me on excellent authority) by no means to gratify Don Ferrante (a modo alcuno compiacerlo), persisting in the first offer sent to him through the Secretary Erasso, of 40 crowns (scudi) annual revenue, on feudatories (vassali) in the kingdom of Naples, and 20,000 crowns (scudi) ready money as a gratuity whether in or out of service (servendo ò non servendo). Requests these particulars may be kept secret as they deserve to be.*

Whilst writing this letter, is informed that [Edward] Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, has at length obtained his entire release ‡ through the graciousness and clemency of their Majesties, and is to

* Alfonso de Castro, a Franciscan friar. (See Fox's Martyrology, Part II. p. 145; in Strickland's Mary, p. 547.)

† Alfonso de Castro, whether right or wrong with regard to Don Ferrante, was a conscientious and free-spoken churchman, for early in February 1555, after the burning of prebend Rogers, the rector Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and Bishop Hooper, "he preached before the Court a sermon, inveighing against the wickedness of these executions, boldly declaring the truth, that the English Bishops learned not in Scripture to burn anyone for conscience sake. This truly Christian sermon produced an order from Court, whether from the Queen or her husband is not known, to stop the burnings for upwards of five weeks." (See Fox's Martyrology; in Strickland, as above.) Francisco Alfonso de Castro was a native of Zamora; he accompanied King Philip to England in 1554, and died at Brussels, 13 February 1558, aged 63 years. (See Biographical Dictionary, Bassano, 1796.)

‡ The Earl of Devonshire had been removed from the Tower to Fodringham Castle in Northamptonshire, where he was to remain under the care of Sir Thomas Tresham, on the 25th March 1554. (See Collins' Peerage, vol. 6, p. 258. Ed. London, 1812.)

1555.

go to the court this day, to kiss hands; and that it will soon be followed by that of the Lady Elizabeth likewise.* This act is the more agreeable to the whole kingdom, as it was quite unexpected, everybody supposing that they would not be thought-of until after the Queen's delivery; but the prudence and judgment of these princes have made them choose to render their clemency and liberality more manifest by demonstrating it precisely at this most critical moment (*nelli tempi a ponto più sospetti*), and evincing reliance on the public mind (*mostrando di assicurarsi dell'animo di ciascuno*), most especially on the nobility and chief personages.

On the departure of the court,† they did not fail to give orders for the removal of all those ordinaries (*ridotti*) where gentlemen usually assembled to eat and gamble, and in which many persons got together and talked seditiously; the masters of these places having been commanded, under heavy penalties, never for the future to give admission to any one.

A few days ago, 40 miles hence in the county of Essex, a slight insurrection occurred (occorse meza sollevatione) on account of the religion, because Lord Riere (sic) [William, third Lord Dacre, of Gillesland?] having by order of the Government escorted certain heretics condemned to be burnt, so great a concourse of persons assembled at this spectacle, that it was incredible; and when about to be executed, they most vehemently exhorted the multitude to persevere in their religion, and endure as they themselves did, any persecution or any torment; which so moved the people that the Governor was apprehensive of an attack on himself and his officials (li sui ministri) and of their being maltreated, very strong language (parole gagliardissime) having been used against those who ordered the execution (che faceva la esecuzione), and passed this sentence, on men of such piety and constancy, whom they, the people, considered the holiest of martyrs.‡

London, 8th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 8.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

50. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

Has received the letter which the King wrote him by the Marquis de las Navas;§ and thereby, and by the Marquis's verbal statement,

* The Lady Elizabeth arrived a prisoner at Whitehall from Ashridge on the 23rd February 1554; on the 18th March she was lodged in the Tower; on the 19th or 20th she was conveyed by water from Tower wharf to Richmond, and next day proceeded thence to Woodstock, where she was still a prisoner when the Venetian Ambassador wrote this despatch.

† In Machyn's Diary, the removal of the King and Queen to Hampton Court is dated 4th April.

‡ Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, men of some small property in Essex, Pigot and Knight, suffered in different parts of Essex; Lawrence was burnt at Colchester. (See Froude, vol. 6, pp. 333, 334.) Pigot was a butcher, Knight a barber, and Lawrence a priest. Lord Dacre seems to have been a soldier by profession, as Machyn, date 22 July 1557, records the presence in London of his "lyght hors-men to go [beyond] see," so it may be inferred that a military force presided at these executions, and that Lord Dacre, being in the pay of the crown, was ordered to Essex for this purpose.

§ The Marquis de las Navas, Don Pedro Davila, was Maggior Domo to Philip II. (See Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 1553-1558, Index.)

1555.

has heard how much his Majesty regrets the news of the Pope's death, thus demonstrating his great piety; and for what the King is pleased to tell Pole, condescending to ask his opinion, he thanks him with all due respect and affection, nor will he weary his Majesty by saying anything farther; having made such reply as necessary to the Marquis.

From London, 8th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 8.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

51. Written reply of CARDINAL POLE to the MARQUIS DE LAS NAVAS.

As for his greater satisfaction, the Marquis requests an answer in writing to the proposals made by him in the name of King Philip on occasion of the Pope's death; Pole tells him in the first place, with regard to his remaining in England or going to Rome for the election of the new Pope, that as the death of his holiness has not cancelled Pole's legation, and the affairs of the religion and the peace being already advanced as they are, he should not think it fitting his place and station now to abandon and leave them imperfect unless he received some other express commission from the College of Cardinals, most especially as his presence at Rome could only influence the election by one single vote; nor is it probable, owing to the length of the journey and his age, that he could arrive in time. Secondly, as to what King Philip should do, Pole would think it becoming their Majesties' piety, that they should write a letter to the Sacred College condoling in the first place on the death of his holiness, and exhorting and praying the cardinals to elect such a person as the great need of Christendom, and especially of England, requires, so that the obedience to the apostolic see there may be maintained and confirmed. When sending this letter to their ambassadors,* their Majesties might desire them to send it by an express to the Sacred College, they also writing to condole, etc., and enquiring either by letter or by word of mouth through their messenger, what they are to do, whether to go straight to Rome, or to wait in some neighbouring place, until the election. Thirdly, with regard to the matter of the peace, perceiving the good commencement made, Pole would be of opinion that this unforeseen event ought not to cause any change, but rather be a reason for hastening the conference, which, besides being for the general advantage, may cause the election to proceed more quietly. Pole is also of opinion that their Majesties would obtain a great reputation for piety, were they to observe in England the holy order issued by Gregory X. at the Council of Lyons, that on the death of the Pope, obsequies be celebrated by the clergy in all the great cities and towns, after which prayers to be offered up daily for that the election of the new Pope may prove a good one.

London, 8th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* The Embassy set out from Calais on the 27th February 1555, and seems to have been at Milan on the 12th April 1555. (See Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. 1, p. 81.)

1555.

April 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

52. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor,
to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador of the Queen of England has sent to tell me, that the reply received by him from the Bishop of Arras, about sending commissioners to treat the peace, was that the Emperor is willing to send them to Gravelines, but on the 26th instant, and not on the 10th proximo, nor merely two as the King of France said he wished, but four commissioners with two secretaries besides, who are already designated in the Emperor's mind, with the exception of one whom he would refer to his son: that he had sent for Queen Maria to proclaim them (*per proclamarli*) and give them their commissions; and that it was well that the Ambassador should not yet despatch the courier, but await the reply until her arrival, when she would immediately acquaint him with the decision, and he could write to his Queen to announce it through the secretary Robertet to his most Christian Majesty, who would answer whether it had his approval. This reply, being unexpected by the Ambassador, caused him to say he suspected that his Queen being too simple (*troppo buona*) was labouring in vain, because this did not seem to him the way whereby to arrive at the conclusion of the peace with such speed as necessary. *It seems, however, to certain persons acquainted with the Emperor's affairs, that his Majesty knows that by awaiting the Queen's delivery—which if auspicious, as he hopes, may greatly benefit all his interests—and procrastinating until he sees this result, in that case, his son might dispose of England, which he evidently cannot do at present.*

Besides the commission given by his Majesty to the Abbot Brisegno [Trissino?] about the Pope's election, and the letters to several cardinals, the Emperor wrote a general one to the College saying he had no partiality (*affettione*) for any candidate, and would oppose none, but wished for a pope of any nation who shall procure the real welfare of Christendom; and besides the Cardinals Morone and England, the Florentine Ambassador says the Emperor has at heart the Cardinal of Fanno (*sic*) [Fano?].

The delegates from Pavia and Cremona who were returning from England with Dr. Rosses (*sic*) the Spaniard, and others, are said to have been taken by the French on their passage across to Calais.

Brussels, 9th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

53. PHEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary in France, to the
DOGE and SENATE.

On hearing of the Pope's death, seven cardinals departed hence for Marseilles in order to embark on board the fleet which has been recalled from Corsica for this purpose, and that they may go to Rome by sea. Two have remained behind, on account of old age, and Lorraine that he may attend the conference. The seven who went, are Tournon, . . . Vendôme, Guise, Chatillon, Lenoncourt, and Hannebaut; those who remain are Bourbon and Giuri.

Melun, 10th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

1555.

April 11.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

54. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Queen Maria has appointed as commissioners, the Bishop of Arras, Monsr. de Lalain, Governor of Hainault, Monsr. de Benincourt, Governor of Artois, Dr. Viglius, President of the Queen's Council, and the President of Mechlin, the sixth being reserved for the King of England; and when the Queen's Ambassador enquired his name, they would not tell it him, hinting that it might be the Duke of Alva, should the King not think it more necessary to send him to Italy, in which case Don Ferrante, or the Signor Gio. Battista Gastaldo, will be taken into consideration. Monsr. de Praet, whose nomination I announced, has excused himself, by reason of his being seriously indisposed. Concerning the time of their departure, Queen Maria and the Bishop of Arras said that the Emperor referred it to the Queen of England.

Brussels, 11th April 1555.

[Italian.]

April 12.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

55. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After Queen Maria had told the English Ambassador the Emperor's resolve about the commissioners, the Bishop of Arras and the Secretary Vargas went to the Nuncio, who is ill in bed, to tell him the whole, that by writing to Rome he might testify the Emperor's good will and the means employed by him to effect an adjustment with his most Christian Majesty, and desiring him to give notice of this to the Cardinal Legate Pole in England, who has written to the Emperor, that he will not renounce the negotiation of the peace, which is so important for Christendom, by going to Rome for the papal election, exhorting his Majesty to determine forthwith on the nomination of commissioners, as, on hearing of their appointment, the Lord Chancellor of England would cross to Calais to hasten the meeting of those elected by both sides; and to-day the English Ambassador despatched a courier (who had been kept back) with this announcement.

Don Ferrante remains at Antwerp, because the reply from the King of England, which the Emperor told him to await, has not arrived, and because they have not paid him, either the twenty thousand crowns ready money, or the nine thousand for which his guard and retinue are creditors. To obtain these sums, Secretary Erasso went to Antwerp, but was unable to get the money from the merchants, as they demanded security from Don Ferrante, who said he would not give it, as should the twenty-nine thousand crowns not be paid he would have to pay them himself; but that he would be security for Erasso, provided he bind himself to make the payment at Milan from certain funds (which could not fail) mentioned by Don Ferrante, they being given as security to the merchants. *His Excellency, and many persons at this court, greatly marvel at this mode of proceeding towards him contrary to all the promises which he received from the Emperor; and he said that with or without the money, he shall depart immediately.*

The aforesaid Secretary Erasso, and a treasurer sent by the King

1555.

of England, are endeavouring to obtain a loan of 200,000 crowns from the Fuggers, for the passage (*l'andata*) into Italy of the Duke of Alva, and from other merchants [they are contracting] for 100,000 crowns, receiving as security, for twelve years, a new duty upon alum which was being treated with the commissioner sent heretofore by the late Pope; about which merchants he (Badoer) had written to the Doge in a former letter.

Brussels, 12th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

April 13.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

56. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary Erasso has paid Don Ferrante six thousand crowns of the twenty-nine thousand which were promised him, saying that he would soon provide the rest; and his Excellency, having received through Don Diego de Acuña, the reply that the King of England gave him full permission (*le dava buona licentia*), he seemed satisfied with it, and departed for Italy with a few followers, as the Spaniards of his guard, after receiving their pay, remained in these parts by his leave.

Brussels, 13th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 15.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

57. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Duke of Alva returned hither this day from the Court,* the King having despatched his business and dismissed him for Italy, and in a day or two at the latest he will proceed to the sea-side; several armed vessels having, at his request, been long waiting at Dover to convey him. He is the bearer of 200,000 ducats, provided for him lately by King Philip's treasurer (*il Thesoriere di questa Maestà*) at Antwerp, through a loan (*partito*) raised there, and takes with him, together with his two sons (the one being legitimate and his eldest, the other, of whom he is very fond, illegitimate), the Duchess, his wife, whom he will leave immediately on landing, and proceed post-wise. He is also accompanied by Colonel Hieronymo da Pisa; all the captains and soldiers who were here having preceded him, all having been promised employment. It is said that this colonel will have the post of Quarter-Master General (*Maestro di Campo*); he was so well received here at the court, and in such esteem there universally, above all with the King, that on departure, his Majesty gave him a gold chain worth a thousand crowns, promising him, at his first consultation (*consulta*) with the Emperor, to obtain for him a commandery yielding a thousand crowns revenue, to pair well with the order of St. James, conferred on him by his Imperial Majesty. It is said that by means of this colonel, four of the chief noblemen and gentlemen of Italy have taken service with King Philip; their names, as yet unknown, to be divulged on the Duke's arrival.

* The King and Queen removed from London to Hampton Court on the 3rd April. (See Machyn, p. 84.)

1555.

Owing to this departure of the Duke, it has been under consideration (*si è parlato*) to form a privy council (*consiglio secreto*), for the affairs of the war and of state; of which King Philip has great need, remaining here alone, without anybody about him of sufficient authority and experience in similar negotiations. I am told on good authority, that his Majesty—on finding Don Ferrante determined to return to Italy, as he was not employed to his liking, and that not only had he taken leave of the Emperor, but had already quitted Brussels, and perhaps Antwerp, on account of not having received the reply expected by him, and which he promised the Emperor he would wait for there,—perceiving his dissatisfaction, and stimulated by the great need his Majesty has of some such person in the Council,—changed his resolve, and sent an express after him with a long autograph letter purporting that he again calls him to his presence, promising to give him such post about his person as shall be to his honour and satisfaction; it not being known whether the post will be that of Lord High Chamberlain (*maggiordomo maggiore*), or some other. I am told that the courier has orders to follow him on his journey until he come up with him; and that on the evening before last was [words in MS. corroded] secretly, which if true, will soon be known.

Cardinal Pole's indisposition which at first seemed not to be [severe] increased so violently, a malignant fever having never left him for five consecutive days, that not only his own attendants (*li suoi*) but the physicians themselves despaired of his life; and the former being more tender and apprehensive than the latter, their extreme affliction and dismay, especially that of Monsignor Priuli, was too piteous a sight; but through the aid and grace of the Almighty, his right reverend lordship is not only better, but out of danger, having already passed four days without fever, though so weak and exhausted that all who see him well know how much he must have suffered; he himself confessing that he has escaped a very great danger. He is now intent on taking rest and gaining strength, that he may be able, if necessary, to cross the Channel for this conference.

King Philip has written to the Imperial Ambassador at Rome, and given him orders in conformity it is supposed with those of the Emperor to prefer Cardinal Pole to all the other candidates for the Popedom, and that this be made known to all the Cardinals his Majesty's adherents (*che sia preposto a tutti gli altri nella election del Papato, et che così sia fatto sapere a tutti li Cardinali confidenti di sua Maestà*).

Yesterday, Easter day, a great outrage (*un grandissimo caso*), was committed in the parish church of St. Margaret, Westminster, for whilst the priest in canonicals was standing at the altar with the chalice in his hand, full of consecrated wafers, giving the communion as usual on that day to the parishioners, he was suddenly assaulted by an Englishman, said to be a plebeian* (*persona popolare*), with a

* This plebeian, a monk of Ely, by name Fowler, *alias* Branch, was burnt for this assault on the 24th April following, outside St. Margaret's churchyard. (See Machyn's Diary, pp. 84, 85.)

1555.

naked sword in his hand, and in a violent rage, who, after saying that by the idolatry which he committed he deceived the crowd of souls there assembled, with other disgusting language (*con altre parole stomacose*), gave him two such deep wounds, one on the hand, and the other on the head, that he fell as if dead, causing such an uproar and tumult, in part from the shrieks of the women and the multitude of persons there present who witnessed this frightful scene, and partly from the crowd drawn thither by the noise, and who on entering the church pursued this wretch with drawn weapons to put him to death, that it was wonderful. Persons who did not know the cause, and especially the strangers, believed that with that opportunity the English had risen for the purpose of killing the Spaniards and all the other foreigners who dwell for the most part in that quarter; so everybody, most especially the Spaniards, were in great alarm. But on hearing what had happened, quiet was restored, the malefactor being seized; and the popular clamour not allowing of his being put to death, he was given into the hands of the law officials to be kept in charge for greater and more severe punishment and penalty.

London, 15th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 20.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

58. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF CONZA [GIROLAMO MUZZARELLI], Nuncio at Bussels.

Last evening by her Secretary of the Council, the Queen sent to show Pole the letter she is writing to her ambassador in France charging him to tell the King how much she rejoiced at his being so well disposed towards the peace, and that she likewise had performed every good office with the Emperor, from whom, on account of his indisposition, she could not receive his nomination sooner. As already stated, he appointed five persons for the conference,* leaving the choice of the sixth to the Queen, who, although she had already made it, would not mention the name until she knew the Emperor's will. The Queen herself will send the Chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke, and Paget, saying that for the public service Pole likewise would go; and as to the time, she supposed it would not be delayed beyond the 10th of May; and Secretary Robertet departs with this decision. Pole has written to the Bishop of Viterbo, that on hearing the time appointed for the departure of the Queen's commissioners, he will proceed to cross the Channel, being now, by God's grace, in a state to do so,† and refers himself for the rest to the letters written by him to the Abbot of San Saluto.

From London, 20th April 1555.

P.S.—Having written thus far, received letters from the Sacra College of Cardinals announcing the Pope's death, and inviting him to Rome for the election of his successor; but the distance, and Pole's inability to perform so long a journey speedily, being weak since his illness, excuse him amply, in addition to which there is the

* The letter containing this notice has not been found.

† *Trovandomi hora per grazia di Dio in dispositione di poterlo far.*

1555.

important affair of the peace now in course of negotiation. Pole wishes to know if Conza has recovered his health, and whether the Emperor and the King of France are content that he and the Bishop of Viterbo should attend the conference, which would give Pole great satisfaction.

[Italian.]

April 20 ?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

No date of time

or place.

Printed in Vol. 5,

pp. 7-9,

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli,"

&c., without any

date whatever.

59. CARDINAL POLE to POPE MARCELLO II.*

Congratulates him on his accession to the popedom. The new Pope has always desired the reform of the Church, and will now have the comfort to receive the ambassadors sent to Rome by England, who can bear witness to him how that realm, which so greatly disfigured the Church (*in quo ecclesia maxime fuit deformata*), has returned to the faith. On the other hand, the moment is not far distant when the sovereigns will be at peace, and at the conference about to take place the most Serene Queen of England and his Holiness's Legate will act as pacificators. By this consolation the new Pope is encouraged at this arduous commencement of his reign. With regard to himself individually, in like manner as Pole heretofore was linked to him by voluntary affection, so is he now, in right of obedience, which is so pleasant to him that, instead of being sent on a legation from his Holiness's side, he would fain give assistance beside him, and serve in his presence (*non jam de latere S. V. missus, legatione pro ed fungi, sed ad latus ei assistere, et coram inservire*); this indeed would be most pleasant to him, but whatever the Pope shall command him will be yet more agreeable.

[London, 20th April 1555 ?]

[Latin, 48 lines.]

April 21.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

60. CARDINAL POLE to HENRY II., King of France.

Monsieur de Fresnes delivered to him the King's most gracious letter, and announced his Majesty's constant good disposition in favour of the peace, much to his comfort. Subsequently the Emperor's decision was received, as the King will hear from Monsieur de Fresnes and from the ambassador of the Queen, who has ordered him to acquaint the King with the whole, that he may see how well and zealously disposed she is towards this holy affair, to which Pole hopes the Almighty will grant the desired result.

From London, 21st April 1555.

[Italian.]

April 21.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

61. CARDINAL POLE to ANNE DE MONTMORENCY, Constable.

By the letters from the King and from the Constable and from Monsieur de Fresnes has heard, much to his comfort, that his Majesty and his lordship are satisfied with what has been done about the peace. With regard to the nomination of the personages of the Emperor's Council, and the time to be appointed, the Queen has communicated with Monsieur de Fresnes, and charged her ambassador to acquaint his most Christian Majesty with the

* Pope Marcello II. was elected on the 9th April 1555, and died on the following 1st of May.

1555.

decision, which Pole hopes will satisfy him, and that without awaiting further reply he will send his deputies to the appointed place at the time proposed by the Queen, knowing that the Emperor, by reason of his ailments, is sometimes wont to delay his resolves.

Pole took the liberty of exhorting Monsieur de Fresnes to remain longer than he was inclined to do, hoping that the King would approve of this office, and be satisfied with the decision. Refers him for farther particulars to Monsieur de Fresnes, the bearer of the present letter.

From London, 21st April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 21.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

62. PHEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Received their letters of the 5th instant, with the Turkish advices down to the 2nd March, and also those of the 6th, acquainting him with the statement made the day before by the French ambassador about the future conference between the ministers of the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty. Not knowing for certain on what day the most noble Soranzo would arrive, and wishing to execute the commission given me, I went to the Court, and was introduced by the Constable to the King, to whom I said how agreeable and satisfactory had been the loving office performed by his ambassador with your Serenity, and how greatly you desired the peace and union of Christendom; to which he replied that if God granted him the grace to stipulate a peace or any other agreement, your Serenity would be mentioned in it amongst his chief friends. After I had communicated the advices from Constantinople, the news of the Pope's election having arrived the day before, the King said it pleased him, hoping that, from his Holiness's past life, he would be a good Pope; that he had retained his own name, and would be Marcello II., and chose to be crowned immediately, to avoid cost and pomp. The whole court approves of the election, and the cardinals, who were to have gone by sea, and Vendôme by land, will return without having endured much fatigue on the journey, or suffered in the conclave, which was of very short duration. On the first news of the conference, his most Christian Majesty sent Robertet to England, both on this account and to fix the time; and the French ministry, thinking that his return is too long delayed, and that his remaining thus in England might perhaps discredit France, the Constable told the writer that they had desired him to return immediately, as should the English have anything to say about the time of meeting or other matters, they can impart it to the French ambassador; but yesterday, when Capella left the Court, Robertet had not yet come back.

The Emperor is said to have a large number of infantry near the French borders, but not united, and he has lately had 60 pieces of artillery taken to Arras.

Melun, 21st April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1555.

April 22.

Lettere del Col-
legio (Secreta),
File No. 20.**63. The DOGE and COLLEGE to the PROVEDITOR OF PESCHIERA.**
Their reply to inquiries about the Bishop of Ely and Vis-
count Montagu.

In reply to yours of the 19th instant, demanding our orders about admitting into the fortress of Peschiera the ambassadors of the most Serene King and Queen of England on their way to Rome; we inform you that, according to advice received from our secretary at Milan, we are well nigh certain that the said ambassadors are not coming at present to this city, nor will they even turn aside into our territory, but proceed down the Po, in order to betake themselves to Rome by the shortest road.* As it might nevertheless happen to them to change their course, our opinion is that you do admit into that fortress the ambassadors aforesaid, together with 25 or 30 of their attendants in all, apologizing on the plea of limited space and inconvenient accommodation, making the rest of their retinue lodge outside in the other places and neighbouring villages as well as may be (*al meglio che si potrà*); to which effect we have given orders to the governors of Verona to provide those places with hay and oats for the horses, and other necessities, so that they be lodged commodiously; and you will see to their getting what they require, for their money.

We desire you to evince every becoming mark of goodwill and courtesy towards these ambassadors, in conformity with the orders given to our other governors, and as suited to the good friendship maintained by us with the aforesaid most Serene King and Queen.

With regard to your election of an overseer, in lieu of the one deceased, we can only tell you that we will let you know our intention and will about that election as soon as possible.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 28.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**64. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

The Emperor has written to the Queen of England, and desired the Bishop of Arras to tell her ambassador that he is ready to send the commissioners to Gravelines whenever the Queen pleases. The ambassador replied that Her Majesty was in daily expectation of the decision from the King of France, to whom she had written to send his commissioners to Ardres on the 20th May; that on hearing of their election she would send three commissioners with Cardinal Pole; and that she had written to the Emperor to send his commissioners.

After the arrival here of the news sent by the Vice-Legate of Bologna to the Nuncio, announcing the election of the Pope, five days elapsed before the Emperor received confirmation of the same from his ministers. Although the Nuncio had ordained that when

* "The journey of the Queen's Ambassadors unto Rome, anno 1555," published by Lord Hardwicke, shows that the Bishop of Ely and Lord Montagu were at Milan in that year, from the 12th to the 17th April, when they went to Lodi and Piacenza, at which last place they remained the 20th and 21st; arrived at Cremona on the 22nd, remaining there the 23rd; they then went to Mantua, and were at Ferrara on the 25th.

1555.

celebrating the masses his Holiness should be named as usual, his Majesty did not choose his chaplain to make mention of him until he had the advice for certain (*fino che non avesse l'aviso certo*), and also because at first the Spaniards did not all believe this intelligence, showing that it displeased them. But having heard that the Cardinal of Trent was the first to "adore" his Holiness (*ch'el Cardinal di Trento è stato primo ad adorar sua Santità*), they say they hope he may be a good one, and that His Majesty is very glad of it, he having appointed Don Juan de Mendoza, gentleman of the mouth (*gentiluomo della bocca*),* who will depart in two or three days postwise, to congratulate the Pope. The Emperor has also written to the King of England to send hither the ambassador destined to reside in ordinary [at Rome] in lieu of the one now there, that he may convey his Majesty's congratulations likewise.

Brussels, 28th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

April 28.
MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

65. CARDINAL POLE TO QUEEN MARY; translated into Italian from the English.

Having been informed last evening by Secretary Petre that Cardinal Santa Croce [Marcello Cervino] has been created Pope, he was extremely glad, having experience of his goodness, doctrine (*dottrina*), and other rare and excellent qualities; so the best may be hoped for the consolation of the Church committed to his care, and for all Christendom; and Pole having heard that to-day would not be the moment for troubling her Majesty by going [to Hampton Court],† he congratulates her and the King on this event, being certain that by reason of their great zeal and affection for the Church, the more testimonials they receive of the merits of the person whom it has pleased God to elect for its head, the greater will be their satisfaction. Can render testimony to this effect, from his experience of the present Pope, and the intercourse he has had with him, being always of opinion that he deserved this grade. Pole's joy is also increased by this election, as he considers it an evident mark of the Almighty's great graciousness; and in like manner as He granted it to the prayers of his Church, it being, as it were, a parturition, giving to the world such a common‡ [father], so may He also do with respect to the two other births which are expected, giving the Queen a son for their Prince and King, and to Christendom that peace which is desired. They should the more fervently continue praying for these two acts of grace, from the hope derived from the first; and thus may God omnipotent of his mercy grant, long preserving Her Majesty in all prosperity, not only for the advantage and consolation of England, but of many other countries likewise.

From Richmond, 28th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* "Esquire carver" in Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Mary, p. 172, entry 369.

† The reason may be inferred from the following entry in Machyn's Diary: "The last day of April tidings came to London that the Queen's grace was delivered of a prince."

‡ "Un tal co'mun" (sic).

1555.

April 28 ?

66. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP and QUEEN MARY.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.

Cod. xxiv. cl. x.

No date.

Printed in Vol. 5,

pp. 36, 41,

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli,"

&c. without any

date.

The death of Julius III. [23 March 1555] did not make their Majesties forget the gifts sent them through the Nuncio, Antonio Agostini, nor did the malady which seized Pole the day after he received the demand of the King and Queen for an explanation of their meaning, make him forget his obligation,* which he satisfies the more willingly, as the explanations he has to give them represent and record the duties of a sovereign.

These gifts being blessed by the Vicar of Christ on earth, to whom He gave the right of blessing, the sword with the cincture and cap (*pileo*) [of maintenance],† which was the first gift, is blessed on the night of the birth of Christ, whom, as Scripture says, God to us *benedicentem misit*, to remind those who obtain the advantage of the sword (*utilem gladii*), which is the power of justice, that if they wish to exercise it rightly and salutarily, they must first comprehend that they derived it from Christ himself, with whom justice is twin-born, his birth being celebrated on the night on which the sword is blessed.

The true use of the sword is shown by the cap, decorated with pearls, representing a sort of dove; so as, according to the Apostle, the covering of the head indicates its having a Lord to whom it must obey.‡ Those who, together with the sword, receive the cap, are clearly taught that the power of the sword is not to be used by them according to their own arbitrament, but according to that of Him from whom they received it, who is the head and Lord of all; this head being the Holy Spirit, of which the purity (*eandor*) of the pearls and the semblance of the dove are symbols.

The minds of sovereigns should be pure as pearls, and their faith remain guileless as the dove; they defending those who do the like (*qui idem faciunt*) with the power of the sword, which they are to wield solely against such as either openly profess themselves the enemies of the Catholic religion, or corrupt the purity of the faith, or transgress against morality and the laws. This is the true use of the sword; this is the signification of the cap.

The golden rose is blessed on the fourth Sunday in Lent, called by the Church "*Dominica Latere*;" sight and smell rejoice in the flower; and with regard to its being blessed, the Pope, when blessing either the sword or the rose for transmission to kings and princes, prays that from God, through Christ, they may obtain the grace to rule righteously. The two emblems signify that whether when inflicting punishment or bestowing reward, the sovereign has always need of the blessing of God.§

London, 28 April 1555 ?

[*Latin.* 114 lines.]

* By the correspondence of the Ambassador Michiel, it will be seen that Cardinal Pole's illness commenced early in April, his complete recovery being announced on the 29th April, so I date this letter the 28th.

† One of these steel caps, preserved in the Correr Museum at Venice, is precisely of the form of the caps of maintenance represented in English blazonry.

‡ Nam cum velamen capitis, ut Apostolus interpretatur, indicet habere Dominum cui pareat. "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head." (St. Paul, *Corinthians* I., chap. 11, v. 4.)

§ Such is the account of the last rose, blessed by Julius III. in Lent 1555. In March 1556, Cardinal Pole's rival, Paul IV., when blessing the golden rose, said it was a symbol

1555.
April 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

67. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

By my letters of the 8th instant I wrote it was hoped soon to witness the release of the Lady Elizabeth, so I now inform you that to-day or to-morrow she will certainly be at the Court with their Majesties, *whence for every good reason she will not depart until after the Queen's delivery, it being supposed that in case of her Majesty's demise (from which may God preserve us), the King's safety and security would depend more on her than on any other person, not only from the hope of being able with the favour of the great men here (questi grandi), whom he has already gained and won by rewards, to succeed to the kingdom, by making a second marriage with her, it not being improbable that she also might spontaneously incline that way, as she is well acquainted with his proceedings and character; but even should she, or the country, deny him this, yet by her presence here, and she being in his power, he would at least expect to secure himself better against any rising and danger to himself and his followers, he and they, under her favour, being enabled all of them to depart in safety and security.* (Non essendo difficile che anco ella da se vi inclinasse come ben informata del proceder et natura sua, ma quando pur ciò, ò da Lei, ò da questi del Regno, non li fusse permesso, almeno, perchè con la presentia di Lei, havendola in poter suo, pensarebbe di poter meglio esser assicurato di ogni sollevatione et pericolo contra di se et delli sui, et con il favor suo potersene andar tutti sani et sicuri.) *Besides this release, they moreover do not fail guaranteeing themselves against these dangers (nelli quali pericoli, non si resta, anco oltra questa liberatione, di attendere quanto più si può ad assicurarsi per altre vie) by other means, having not only desired all such of the great men here as are considered by them more true and faithful to their Majesties than the rest of the nobility, to assemble at the Court all their retainers (of whom, according to the custom of the country, they have generally a great plenty), but also given orders to raise (as adroitly and secretly as possible, for the avoidance of any display of fear, suspicion, or distrust) a large amount of troops, to be quartered in the neighbourhood of the Court, for their greater defence and security, and also to take thither a few pieces of artillery. This same precaution (diligenza) has been enjoined in this city,* on account of the many idle rogues here, to whom, in case of any misfortune (qualche sinistro) at the time of the delivery, the slightest cause would become the greatest possible for enabling them to sack the houses of the citizens [and] inhabitants (persone) [and] all men of wealth indiscriminately (in universale tutti i ricchi); so by night a good guard is kept both at the gates and*

of the flowers which preceded the fruits of the Passion, and that therefore the ceremony was performed the week before the Passion. "Disse anco prima, quel che significava la rosa che essa havea benedetto secondo il rito antico, che volea dimostrare i fiori che precedevano i frutti della Passione di Christo, et perciò si benediva la settimana avanti quella." This is recorded by the Venetian Ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, despatch No. 67, date Rome, 28th March 1556 (MS. penes me). Pole and Caraffa were at variance on many points, but with regard to the golden rose, the Pope's explanation of the emblem is probably more correct than that of the Legate.

* As already mentioned, the Court moved from London to Hampton Court on the 3rd April.

1555.

throughout the body of the city, and patrolling it watchfully at all hours, they investigate and observe all that is doing.

The Earl of Devonshire (il Conte di Dansier), either from his own choice (sia sua elettione) or by the counsel and suggestion of others, or rather command, is to depart hence to-day or to-morrow with all his retinue (con tutti li sui), and cross the Channel on his way to Brussels, to kiss the Emperor's hand in acknowledgment for the boon (mercede) obtained from King Philip, the chief cause (principal autore) of his release, and to reside some time (un pezzo) at that court, not only for the purpose, as he says, of learning its manners and customs (lo uso et pratiche di quella), knowing himself to be devoid of all experience, having been reared and educated in prison until now (essendo si può dir cresciuto et fino a questa età allevato in prigione), but also that he may be present and see the war, which, should the adjustment not be effected, will it is feared break out on those frontiers (quelle frontiere), it being his intention, after some little while, to go to Italy. Many persons assert that with this plausible pretext they colour (colorando) the boundary assigned him, and the commutation of his imprisonment (et la commutatione della prigione), though a person in his confidence has told me that the Chancellor [Gardynen] assured him in the Queen's name that, provided he departed (che andando), he might return at his pleasure without further leave from her Majesty, his absence at the moment of the delivery sufficing them (basta che non si trovarà qui in questa occasione et tempo del parto).

Cardinal Pole, being now quite well, is preparing for his passage across the Channel, and merely waits to hear that the French negotiators have set out, but his right reverend Lordship will be preceded by the Chancellor, that he may make the necessary preparations, so many and such illustrious personages having to assemble in one place. It is already supposed that neither party can be there on the day appointed, which is the 10th proximo, so that the term will be prolonged until the 20th.

King Philip conferred a great favour lately on two noblemen, Lord [Henry] Maltravers, son of the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Fitzwalter,* son of the Earl of Sussex, for both being bridegrooms he was pleased to honour their weddings. He came hither on purpose from Hampton Court with all his chief courtiers to that of Lord Maltravers, which was solemnized (*che si sono finite*) in his father's house, and gave the bride a jewelled necklace, said to be worth a thousand ducats; and at Fitzwalter's wedding, which was solemnized at the court, his Majesty in person, as a mark of greater honour, took part in person with many other gentlemen at a tourney on foot, and armed himself and fought like the others. By such demonstrations he from day to day gains the good will of all.

London, 29th April 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Thomas Ratcliffe, fourth Lord Fitzwalter, married first Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Southampton, and secondly Frances Sydney. (See Burke's Extinct Peerages.)

1555.

April 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

68. PHEBO CAPELLA, Venetian Secretary in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable will depart for the site of the conference.

Laon? (Lion), 29th April 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

69. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the EMPEROR, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of Arras has left post-wise for Antwerp, and will soon return and go to Gravelines by the same conveyance. The reply from the Queen of England to the Emperor has arrived, purporting that the King of France consents to send the commissioners, and wishes to shorten the term, by their betaking themselves to Ardres on the 10th instant, instead of on the 20th, as written by the Queen.

Brussels, 1st May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 1.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. cl. x.
without date,
Printed in vol. v.
pp. 9-11.
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi
Poli," etc.
dated as above.

70. CARDINAL POLE to POPE MARCELLO II.

Has received two briefs from the Pope, the one addressed to himself, confirming the charge given him by the late Pope, concerning the matter of the religion in England, and the negotiation for the peace with the ministers of the Emperor and of France, who are to attend the conference. In the other to the King and Queen of England, the Pope acquaints them with his accession, and requests them to exert themselves for the auspicious result of the conference for the peace. The King and Queen received the brief willingly, and expressed their readiness to obey the Pope's holy exhortations in all things. The joy (*alacritas*) with which Pole received the Pope's mandate is not to be told; as previously, with whatever authority invested, on hearing of his Holiness's election, he felt himself well nigh powerless without the papal authority and command, which seem to him to warrant fair hopes.

Richmond, 1st May 1555.

[*Latin. 33 lines.*]

May 5.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

71. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable will be at Ardres on the 20th, that being the day appointed for the conference; many noblemen and others accompany them, so that their joint retinues (*le loro corte unite*) will amount to about 4,000 horse. Both have fitted themselves out with great pomp, especially the Constable, incurring vast expense both for their attendants, as also for household furniture of gold and silk, being aware of the importance of this congress. Although scarcely arrived, has ascertained *on good authority, that his most Christian Majesty is not much inclined towards peace, and does not care greatly about any adjustment, it seeming to him that his affairs have hitherto proceeded very pros-*

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perously; nor, above all, has he any need of money, having accumulated a considerable sum of gold. But what induced him to send to the conference, was, that being requested to make an agreement, and refusing it, he would seem, as it were, to offend all Christendom; in addition to which, his own people being much straitened by the incessant expenditure, and the nobility impoverished, had he refused to say a word about adjustment, they would have remained dissatisfied, and less ready for the future to take the field. By sending to make the adjustment, in case it be not effected, this demonstration may be of great use to him; and should a truce be made, to which he seems most inclined, he would derive the advantage of greatly recruiting his subjects, and he himself would increase his pecuniary supply for future occasions. Understands, on the other-hand, that the Emperor does not seem to give ear to a truce of any sort; but that should it be chosen to make an adjustment, he wishes it to be for peace, implying apparently a hope that the King of France will restore something either in Piedmont or Picardy, by means of a marriage; but from what the writer hears, the most Christian King will give back nothing. Has been told that consequently it would not be easy to discover a way to make peace, but that the miracles performed by God in the affairs of England were manifest, most especially with regard to religion; wherefore it may be believed that in this matter likewise God will find a way. There is also another consideration of no slight importance, which seems to warrant hope of some agreement, namely, the private interest of the Constable, whose son, being the Emperor's prisoner, and he himself growing old, without having hitherto benefited his family in the least, he may be supposed to wish greatly for his release, whereupon it may be considered certain that his most Christian Majesty will make him his Great Master, as he has already promised. Besides this, has heard that active negotiation has been on foot for the marriage of this son of his to his most Christian Majesty's bastard daughter, and is assured that the negotiation is so far advanced that, were this release to take place, it might be supposed that the match would follow. But although such important considerations might, to a certain extent, warp the Constable's judgment (*offuscare la mente del Contestabile*), and prevent him from considering his most Christian Majesty's advantage, it will be so maintained by the intervention of the Cardinal of Lorraine, that their reciprocal rivalry will prevent any agreement save such as shall be beneficial to the French crown; and this is the motive which prevented the Cardinal from going to Rome for the Pope's election.

Paris, 5th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

72. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Tuesday the last of the month, at daybreak, a report circulated that the night before, between the 5th and 6th hour (half an

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hour after midnight, the sun setting at 7.30), the most Serene Queen had been delivered of a male child with little pain and no danger. Owing to this news, as firmly believed and asserted by everybody, even by the magistrates and royal officials (*ministri regij*), the people made public demonstrations of joy, by shutting the shops, processions in the churches, ringing the bells, public tables being spread with wine and viands for all comers; and although it was day there were bonfires in the streets, which was astonishing (*che fu una cosa grande*). But in the afternoon, several persons having returned from the Court with a truer account, the falsity of the report became manifest, for not only had the delivery not taken place, but neither had any of the symptoms which precede delivery manifested themselves; nor is it to be told how much this dispirited everybody.

The original source of this report is not yet well known, and many persons suppose the thing to have been done designedly by order rather than by accident (*volendo molti che studiosamente ciò fusse fatto fare, più presto che a caso*). As this, however, is all conjecture, it will suffice for me to refer it to your Serenity's judgment.*

The Earl of Pembroke has been unexpectedly recalled from Calais, he expecting to remain there some time, having sent for his wife, who was already on her way. Persons the best informed attribute this return solely to King Philip's wish to have him about his person at the time of this delivery, relying greatly, let happen what may, on his fidelity and power (*assicurandosi assai in ogni caso che potesse succedere nella fede et poter suo*), and on being able to make better use of him here than across the Channel; and should it be necessary to make any provision, either by covertly mustering troops, as has apparently been ordered, or for anything else, through his numerous followers (*per il gran seguito che ha*) he will be able to do it better than all the others.

As written by me, the Lady Elizabeth came to the Court very privately, accompanied by three or four of her women, and as many more [male] servants (*accompagnata da tre, ò quattro delle sue donne, et altrettanti servitori*), but was neither met nor received by any one, and was placed in the apartment (*nelle stanze*) of the Duke of Alva, where she lives in retirement (*retirata*), not having been seen by any one save once or twice by their Majesties, by private stairs (*per vie segrete*).†

I am told by a person of authority, that as Don Ferrante refused to stir, after his Majesty's second invitation and offers for him to come hither, it being necessary to appoint a president of the Council, the Bishop of Arras (*Monsr. di Arras*) will come to assume

* "The xxx. day of Aprell and the last day of Aprell thydynges cam to London that the Queen (s) grace was delevered of a prynce, and so ther was grett ryngyng thurgh London, and divers plases *Te Deum laudamus* songe, and the morrow after yt was tornyd ourways to the plesur of God!" (See Machyn's Diary, p. 86.)

† "A week later, on an evening in the beginning of July, Lady Clarence, Mary's favourite attendant, brought a message that the Queen was expecting her sister in her room. The Princess was led across the garden in the dusk, and introduced by a back staircase into the royal apartments." (See Froude, vol. 6, p. 358, date July 1555. ed. 1860.)

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that post, the Duke of Savoy being appointed, but not proclaimed, Captain General of the States and Provinces of Flanders; and it is also told me that on his return from Italy, his marriage with the Duchess of Lorraine, which was treated here, and is supposed to be nearly settled, will take place.

The election of the Pope* has greatly comforted Cardinal Pole, who considers it advantageous; his Holiness has sent him the confirmation of his legatine office, and given him notice at the same time of a strong representation (*un gagliardo officio*) made to him by the ambassadors of the Emperor and the King [of France?], both in the same terms, touching the peace, the Pope charging him to carry on the negotiation. His Holiness has also written to King Philip to negotiate the peace, his Majesty in return being about to send a gentleman to visit and congratulate him especially (*particolarmente*) in his own name, the Queen's ambassadors being ordered to tender obedience in two forms (*di prestar doppia obediencia*), both respecting the union of this Church with the Church of Rome, according to their [original] commission, and with regard to that which is usually tendered by all Catholic princes on the creation of pontiffs.

Yesterday the French ambassador's secretary arrived with letters from France, dated 30th April, purporting that when his most Christian Majesty heard of the Emperor's appointment of the six commissioners for the conference, he did not think fit to add to the number of his own, contenting himself with the two named by him at first (*contentandosi delli due primi*), who will assuredly be at the appointed place on the 20th instant; so the commissioners here (*questi Signori che sono quà*) will set out in the course of this week. Lord Paget and the Earl of Pembroke had been appointed in addition, to attend with the Chancellor, all three in the name of her Majesty, but the Earl having been recalled, Paget and Gardyner will go alone (*ma essendo stato richiamato il Conte, andaranno li due*).

Father Sot (*sic*) (Soto), heretofore the Emperor's confessor, has arrived here, called by their Majesties, by the advice of Cardinal Pole, to assist in regulating (*a riordinar*) the affairs of the monasteries and religious institutions; his right reverend Lordship deferring greatly (*attribuisce assai*) to his judgment, as he is a very exemplary person.

A Neapolitan nobleman of the Brancacio family has also arrived as ambassador from Queen Bonna of Poland,† to offer congratulations on the auspicious events of religion, and he has brought as presents a very beautiful fount, and some other pieces of plate, together with several fine horses and sables (*gibellini*).‡

The surrender of Sienna was heard first by letters of the 21st ultimo in 11 days, and subsequently through Messer Averardo de'

* Marcello II. (Marcello Cervino), elected A.D. 1555, April 9, died of apoplexy in the night of the 30th of the same month.

† Bonna Sforza, widow of Sigismund, King of Poland, and mother of the reigning King Sigismund Augustus.

‡ Martens'-skins, not live martens.

1555.

Medici, who was despatched for this purpose by the Duke of Florence, and although the joy he brought was great, it would have been greater still were they to see the end of the war in those parts (*et non ha portato, anchor che molta, tutta quella allegrezza, che havrebbe fatto, se si vedesse finita la guerra in quelle parti*).

London, 6th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 8.
Filza No. 134.
Miscellanea di
Atti diversi
Manoscritti.
Venetian
Archives.

73. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to MR. [SIR FRANCIS?] ENGLEFELD and MR. JAMES BASSET.

Mr. Basset, I have received your letters, by which I perceived the pains that you have taken in furthering the order of my affairs, for which I most heartily thank you. I like the indenture and letter of attorney marvellously well, and accordingly have set my hand and seal, requiring you that touching the sale of my manor you and the rest will vouchsafe to use great circumspection, for the land is wonderful good, having on it 200 acres, at the least, of timber, with many other commodities, insomuch that I had an offer made me of 30 years purchase and more for it. I think it very necessary that there be a survey thereof first made substantially, whereby the value may perfectly be known, and how most money may be made thereof, of which I pray you let me have knowledge before it be clearly made away.

Touching my abode here, it only hath been, as I doubt not you both confide and know, for the despatch of these my private and most necessary affairs, and for my letters to Mr. Gresham, for the receipt of my thousand marks, the which I could by no means go without, the declaration whereof I most instantly require you not to omit when time and occasion shall serve. And now that I am at a point with the premises I intend, God willing, to-morrow morning very early to go forward with all expedition possible; howbeit I am of force constrained to go first to Antwerp before I go to Brussels, forasmuch as the little furniture that I have with me cometh thither, and I [have] with myself nothing else than only such things as I should ride in post withal; howbeit I intend to make none abode there, but without delay to go from thence to the Emperor's Court.

I have promised Mr. Loo and Mr. Blunt that they shall receive 200*l.* at the coming-up of my money, to be divided between them, the which I pray you let them not fail to have. I pray you to have me humbly commended to my Lord Chancellor, and to render unto him my most hearty thanks for this letter that he hath sent to Mr. Gresham touching me, and to my Lord Treasurer also, and let not my most hearty commendations and thanks to Mr. Comptroller be forgotten. I shall also require you not to omit my commendations to Mr. Waldgrave and his bedfellow, to Mr. Ryse, and to Mr. Kempe your bedfellow, with such other my friends as you shall think convenient. And I pray you let the shortness of time and the haste of my journey be my excuse unto such as doth justly look that I should have written unto

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them. I pray you also to do my humble commendations to my Lord Cardinal's grace, to my good father the King's confessor [Alfonso de Castro], and Father Angelo, and to Signior Ruy Gomez, and I most instantly require you that though these be not the first that be put in, yet let them not be the last that be done. I have accordingly to your advice put Mr. Solicitor jointly in commission with you, as you may by the letter of attorney perceive, unto whom I shall think myself very much bound if he will now in my absence take some pains and show me friendship accordingly, which I shall not fail by God's grace to acquit, thus praying you to take in good part that I cumber you with these my private affairs. I recommend you to Almighty God, praying Him to acquit you for the infinite benefits which I have and daily do receive by you, and amongst the rest I may not forget to give you thanks for particularly that you writ unto me of the good estate and health of the King's and Queen's Majesties, for whom I shall not cease daily to pray, and that God will shortly send us a prince to make us all merry withal.

This viiith of May 1555, scribbled in great haste, by yours most assuredly, from Calais.

(Signed) E. D.

I pray you let Mr. Englefeld be always one at the passing of my great affairs, as he both hath some sight in the laws, and I have in him also an assured trust that he will use some diligence therein. Touching my man Bedlowe, I would not you should esteem him so as I mean or meant to use him as a counsellor, but as a messenger. I have no other to signify unto you worth writing now, and therefore for this time I commit you to God, in great haste as you may see.

Mr. Englefeld, I have received your letters of the 6th of this month, whereby I perceive you be contented to take pains and charges with my affairs, for which I most heartily thank you; in recompense whereof, and a great many other benefits, if it may lie in my power to do you any pleasure, I would think myself very happy, and in few words you may be assured I think myself most bound to be yours in respects whereby I may stand you in stead. I have according to your advice put Mr. Solicitor in the letter of attorney, jointly with you, wherein I shall not fail to acquit if he will vouchsafe to take in hand the charge and pains thereof. Where you persuade me with speed to depart to the Emperor's Majesty, I most heartily thank you for your good advice therein, and you shall understand that my stay hitherto hath been constrained (as I doubt not you know and consider) for the despatch of my private affairs, but these now being somewhat in frame, with all expedition I tomorrow morning go forward towards the Emperor's Majesty, trusting to be there very shortly. I have in a letter to my friend Mr. Basset touched matters more particularly, the which I doubt not he will signify unto you; wherefore for this time being utterly without more leisure, with my hearty commendations, I end, beseeching God to have you in his keeping.

This 8th of May 1555, from Calais.

Yours most assuredly,

(Signed) E. D.

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Basset, I pray you let there be no general survey of my whole revenues until you hear further from me, but only of this one lordship. And I pray you, before you pass any matter of weight, I may hear from you, if I be not so very far from you that the distance of the place enforce the same.

(Endorsed by the same hand :)

To Mr. Bassat and Mr. Englefeld, the 8th of May 1555.

(And again endorsed by the same hand :)

To Mr. Englefeld and Mr. Bassat, 8 May 1555, from Calais.

[*Original draft, with corrections.*]

May 8.

Filza, No. 134,
Miscellanea di
Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

74. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Mr. WILLIAM CORDELL, the Solicitor General.

Right worshipful, after my right hearty commendations unto you. Understanding by my "very friend" Mr. Basset and others the earnest friendship (more ways than one) you have always borne towards me, I cannot but render unto you my very hearty thanks for the same, assuring you (as occasion may serve me) you shall find my good will ready to acquit the same. And now because I am constrained through my absence from my native country to trouble divers my friends (among whom I accompt upon you, as one of my most assured), I am at this time much desirous to pray you, with Mr. Comptroller and others, to take the pains about sundry my affairs, according to a letter of attorney [which] doth import the same, wherein I have put your name, and have sent the same, signed and sealed, according to the draft I have received from you. Thus I commit you to God.

From Calais, the 8th of May 1555.

Your assured friend,
(Signed) E. D.

(Endorsed by the same hand :)

To Mr. Cordall, solyciter, from Calais, the 8th of May 1555.

(And again by the same hand, on another fold :)

Mr. William Cordell, solyciter, 8th of May 1555, from Calais.

[*Original draft, with corrections.*]

May 9.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

75. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day after to-morrow Lord Paget and the Earl of Arundel, who has been appointed by the Queen in lieu of the Earl of Pembroke, depart on their way to cross the Channel, being both sent in advance to prepare in the [open] country, on such site as they shall find most convenient for all parties, where the frontiers of France, Flanders, and England join, the quarters for these personages who are to attend the conference, it not being thought fit for them to assemble in a castle, or walled place. Should there be time, they will have wooden houses built; if not, they will pitch tents and pavilions in the military fashion (*ad uso di guerra*) for their habitation merely during the day, as at night they will all lodge in some town of their own hard by, and not remain in the [open] country. The whole of this cost will be defrayed by the most

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Serene Queen, who has not failed to give Cardinal Pole 1,500*l.* sterling, to enable him to spend more largely on this occasion, as will be done by his most illustrious lordship, and all these personages.*

The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable will be accompanied, not as principals but as their dependents, by the Bishops of Orleans and of Vannes,† namely De Morvilliers, heretofore ambassador at Venice, and De Marillac, late ambassador here, they being "of the long robe" (*uomini di robba longa*), as their countrymen style them; and with them comes the secretary Aubespine.

The courier now despatched conveys the renewal of the ambassadors' commission in the name of the present Pontiff, to enable them to perform the office enjoined them.

London, 9th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 10.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

76. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, when with one of the chief personages of the Court, who was formerly his very confidential friend, heard from him that the commencement of this conference proceeded from the Constable, who desired the brother of the French ambassador in England to take an opportunity for letting the Bishop of Winchester know that his Excellency wished for the peace, and that the Queen of England herself should be mediatrix for it; to which Her Majesty having given ear, several letters passed between the Constable and the Bishop of Winchester. The Emperor having assented to the negotiation, the Constable then informed the Bishop through the same channel, that he wished for the conference, which the Queen, by means of Cardinal Pole, having proposed to both sides, his most Christian Majesty named the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine. Although this same personage (who knows the fact) assured me that as yet there has been no commencement of any particulars, everything being reserved for the conference, he nevertheless said that knowing the Constable to be so inclined towards the peace, as my informant said, he certainly was, the matter is very doubtful, and must be judged at the close (che conviene stare molto in dubbio e giudicare il fine); and he moreover said for certain that as yet the Emperor has announced no intention whatever of a truce.

Melun, 10th May 1555.

[*Italian, in cipher, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 10.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

77. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday, the Bishop of Arras returned from Antwerp with four posters (*con quattro poste*), having been sent for by the Emperor, that he might send him off to Gravelines, for which

* Et tutti questi Signori; meaning, I believe, the English commissioners. Cardinal Pole represented the Pope at this conference, nor can I ascertain that he had any credentials from Queen Mary.

† In the MS. "*di Vannes*." In the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar (12 December 1556, p. 280), it is seen that Charles de Marillac was then Archbishop of Vienne, to which see he was translated from Vannes in 1555, but I do not know in what month. (See Bibliothèque Sacrée, "Vienne, Archevêques de," vol. 26, p. 131, ed. Paris, 1827.)

1555.

place he will depart postwise tomorrow, and the other commissioners have already set out travelling by day [with their own horses?] (*si sono già incaminati in giornata*). The Lord Legate Pole, and the other commissioners of the Queen of England, write to the Nuncio here, and to her Majesty's ambassador, to urge the departure of the Bishop of Arras, as the French commissioners are hastening the conference for the 10th or 15th instant. It is said that the Emperor having heard that the French commissioners are coming with great pomp, has assigned large salaries to his own commissioners, so that all may entertain the English commissioners (*acciochè tutti tengano tavola ai commissarij Englesi*), who will be the first to go and see the Imperialists; and then that they may reciprocate the French demonstrations, in case they confer together, the Emperor gives each of the Flemish commissioners twenty crowns per diem, and sixty crowns per diem to the Bishop of Arras; and to all of them he has given money for one month.

Dr. Malopra, who was left here by the Duke of Savoy as his ambassador,* asked leave of the Emperor to go to this conference for the negotiation of peace, in order to further the interests of his master, and having obtained it, departed yesterday for Gravelines.

The Nuncio here, in like manner, wrote to Cardinal Pole that he also wished to attend, and Pole replied that, although invested with Legatine authority, yet is he not authorised to grant that which appertains to the Pope alone, or may be conceded by the Emperor.†

The Earl of Pembroke, who was at Calais, having been appointed third commissioner for the Queen of England, has crossed the Channel on a summons from the King; some persons say because the ministers know him to be unfit for this negotiation, as he neither speaks nor understands any other language than the English. Others are of opinion that the King and Queen wish to have him near them in case of any accident in those parts, he being their Majesties' lieutenant, a faithful subject, and one who has very great authority in that kingdom.

Lord Courtenay has arrived at Calais, announcing his intention of remaining some time at this court, and then going to Italy to see Rome and Venice; but I have heard that the Emperor gave orders to cause him, by adroit means (*con destro modo*), to leave England, and especially before the Queen's delivery, he being a personage of such great authority in that country, as known to your Serenity.

The Earl of Bedford has come hither with letters of recommendation from the King of England to the Emperor, he also saying that he purposes going to see Italy; and he took occasion to assert that he, however, does not wish to speak to the Emperor, nor does he intend to ask any favour of him, but that the King gave him the letter spontaneously.

Three days ago Filippo Doria arrived here, and two hours afterwards was sent for by the Emperor, who despatched him to England.

Brussels, 10th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* The intelligencer, John Sheres, mentions this diplomatist, date 10 June 1557. (See Foreign Calendar, p. 315.)

† O può esser sodisfatto dall' Imperator.

1555.

May 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

78. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The ambassador from the Queen of England, having this morning received a courier, went immediately to the Bishop of Arras, and told him that Her Majesty had got a positive reply from the most Christian King. Touching the election of the six commissioners made by the Emperor, with regard to the Duke de Medina Celi, the King of France said no one could have pleased him more, by reason of the recollection he has of the many courtesies received by his father King Francis from the said Duke's father, who had him in custody during his most Christian Majesty's imprisonment; and respecting the Bishop of Arras, he said that as the Emperor considered him his right hand, he could not but approve of him; and he also seemed satisfied with the four Flemings, as they were honourable gentlemen, and the good kinsfolk of some of his own vassals. The French King added that he could only send five commissioners, the sixth having been taken ill, but that he was nevertheless content that the Emperor should not dispense with any of the six; and then went on to say that, although the Constable said heretofore that they would assemble on the 10th or 15th instant, it would be well not to do so until the 20th, in order to go more conveniently. Sir John Masone then presented a safe-conduct from his most Christian Majesty, authorising the Imperial commissioners to resort to Ardres; requesting the Emperor to have a similar pass made, that it might be sent to the French commissioners. The Bishop of Arras replied that he augured well of the result of this conference, the most Christian King having expressed himself so well disposed towards all the commissioners of his Imperial Majesty, to whom he would make the report and ask for the order to draw up this safe-conduct; that as for the procrastination, it suited him individually and the other Imperial commissioners, as it would give them time to put their retinue into mourning; and that, although he had intended to depart to-day, he would delay his journey.

Brussels, 11th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 12.
Original
Despatch.
Venetian
Archives.

79. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I have visited the Duke of Alva, and congratulated him in your Serenity's name on his well-being, and on the great dignity conferred on him by the King of England in reward for his great merits (*molte virtù*), expressing my belief that by reason of his good will and address he would regulate matters in such a way as to produce great quiet in Italy. He told me in reply that the intention of both their Majesties was that whilst in Italy, and especially in the Milanese, he should, to use his own words, do service to the Signory, whose good friend and servant he would be; and it is said his departure will be now hastened, owing to the fear at this court lest the Cardinal of Ferrara be elected Pope, concerning which matter the Duke of Ferrara and the Emperor's ambassador at Rome have

1555.

sent two couriers, who arrived yesterday, the ambassador asking the Emperor's orders, and suggesting that the Marquis of Marignano, with such troops as he had at his disposal, should approach Rome.

The Bishop of Arras departed post-wise this day for Antwerp, where he will remain two or three days to serve Queen Maria and the King of England by assisting the conclusion of certain loans which are being negotiated; and it is said that Domenico d'Arbeo, who came heretofore, has already contracted one for 150,000 crowns, and 100,000 are expected hourly by the ships from Spain, part of which will be given to the ambassador of the Duke of Florence, who sent his son to the Queen to urge this payment, and the Emperor gave orders for this money to be paid him, on account of the expenses incurred for the affairs of Sienna. The Bishop of Arras will also confer with the Queen about the new reform which she purposes making at present of the law officers of Antwerp, and concerning the despatch of the rest of the prisoners,* for whose satisfaction she has added three councillors of the town of Antwerp, in addition to the council of Brabant. When these affairs are settled, his right reverend Lordship will depart to negotiate the peace, and the most Serene Queens† will return hither.

Don Francesco of Este has written to the secretary of the Duke [of Ferrara], his brother, to present a letter to the Bishop of Arras, and to obtain a reply. It is said he demands 7,000 crowns due to him from the Emperor. The English ambassador, having been very earnestly requested by the Earl of Bedford‡ to obtain leave [for him] to depart for Italy, has been twice to the Bishop of Arras, telling him that the Earl does not require any favour from the Emperor, nor has he any occasion to speak to his Majesty, although the King of England was pleased to write the Emperor a letter of recommendation for him, and that therefore, with his Imperial Majesty's good leave, he would set out. The Bishop of Arras answered Sir John Masone that the Emperor wished to see the Earl of Bedford, and that he should therefore remain until his Majesty was somewhat better, and that the Duke of Alva would introduce him; and the Earl was heard to say that it seemed to him as if he were kept prisoner here. It is supposed that the like will befall Lord Courtenay, for the reasons written by me to your Serenity.

Brussels, 12th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

80. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two days ago the Duke de Medina left for the Imperial court, having been preceded by Lord Paget on his way to Calais and Guisnes, for the purpose already mentioned. To-day the Chancellor

* "The mutineers of last summer." (See Foreign Calendar, February 8-22, 1555, pp. 153, 155.)

† Maria of Hungary and Eleanor of France.

‡ Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford, then 27 years old. His father, John Russell, died on the 14th March 1555. (See Collins, vol. 1, p. 270, who does not allude to his having left England, or to his having given any umbrage to King Philip and Queen Mary, or to the Government.)

1555.

departed; the Earl of Arundel will do the like to-night, and the day after to-morrow Cardinal Pole will indubitably follow them, as having taken leave of their Majesties [at Hampton Court] we expect him here to-day. They all take great retinues with them, having put their household and attendants (*la casa et servidori loro*) into livery, so they will make a fine show, and cause many persons to wish themselves present at so noble and renowned a congress.

Supposes that its negotiations will be much more quickly and better known to the Doge through the Venetian ambassadors on the other side of Channel than through him, owing to the impediment and difficulty which he experiences by reason of the sea passage, and from which they are exempt. *There came hither lately the Count of Arignano, having been sent by the Duke of Savoy, not only to reside here as his Excellency's agent (homo di Sua Eccellenza) during his absence from these parts, but, as told me by one who knows, to protect the negotiation for his marriage with the Duchess of Lorraine, that it may not proceed farther (chè non vadi più oltre) until the result of this conference be seen, the Duke himself desiring to be free and not bound by words, nor by anything else (nè di altro), with regard to marriage during the whole time of this negotiation, that he may then decide as he shall deem most to his honour and advantage according to the offers [made him]. France on her part likewise, as I am told (come intendo), has announced the intention and given hope of doing him more honour and accommodating him better than will be done here (chè non sarà di qui), hinting that he might possibly marry the King's sister, Madame Margaret; so the Duke informed Cardinal Pole, considering him a good instrument for the purpose.*

Certain knaves in this country (alcuni tristi di questo paese) endeavour daily to disturb the peace and quiet and present state of the kingdom, so as if possible to induce some novelty and insurrection, there having been privily circulated (occultamente pubblicato) of late throughout the city a "Dialogue," written and printed in English, full of seditious and scandalous things against the religion and government, as also against the Council, the Parliament, and chiefly against their Majesties' persons (et la persona principalmente di queste Maestà); and although all diligence has been used for the discovery of the authors, no light on the subject has yet been obtained, save that an Italian has been put in the Tower, he being a master for teaching the Italian tongue to Milady Elizabeth, some suspicion having been apparently entertained of him. (Et sebbene si sia fatta, et si facci tuttavia ogni diligentia per trovar li autori di tal compositione, fin qui non se ne ha alcun lume, eccetto che è stato posto in Torre un' Italiano, maestro di insegnar la lingua Italiana a Miladi Elisabet, sopra il qual pare che si habbia qualche sospetto.) The edition (publicatione) of the "Dialogue" was so copious (è stata in tanta copia) that a thousand copies (volumi) have been taken to the [Lord] Mayor, who, by order of their Majesties (di queste Maestà), commanded all those who had any of them to bring them to him, under heavy penalties.

Since Thursday last, the 9th, the most Serene Queen has lived even more private and retired than before, not quitting her chamber

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nor giving audience to anyone, being in such good health as greatly to comfort everybody.

By letters dated Bologna the 3rd from her Majesty's ambassadors, sent in haste, the Pope's death was known here this morning, with no less surprise than universal regret, by reason of the great prospect of good afforded by his election.

London, 13th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 15.
Original
Despatches,
Venetian
Archives.

81. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sir John Masone received the safe-conduct from the Emperor for transmission to the French commissioners, in conformity with the one given by his most Christian Majesty to the Imperialists. On the 13th instant the Duke de Medina Celi and Lord Paget arrived at Calais, where they were expecting Cardinal Pole and the English commissioners. It is said that the Duke will first of all come post-wise to the Emperor, to acquaint him fully with the wish of the King of England about concluding the peace, and then return immediately to Gravelines. Lord Paget has sent a post with letters to the Bishop of Arras, exhorting him not to tarry longer at Antwerp, as he wishes to speak to him before the arrival of the French at Ardres; so the Bishop departed immediately post-wise for Gravelines, having written to the secretary Bavé, who remained here, to depart instantly, as he will find him to-day at Bruges; and to-day the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, without the other French commissioners, were to be at Montreuil.

The English commissioners have prepared several sorts of refreshments to send to the commissioners on both sides; and at the commencement the English will go first to one side and then to the other, and make them meet subsequently at Calais, or at a neighbouring place called Ham (*sic*). The Emperor has ordered all the cavalry bound by contract (*tutte le genti a cavallo obligati*) who were in this city and elsewhere, to go immediately to the garrisons, and all the native infantry are to hold themselves in readiness for whatever may occur, and to go wherever ordered; three thousand pioneers and the Colonel Count of Meghen and Georych Van Holt (*Giorgio Vannol*),* with the infantry raised by Lower Germany, being sent to the neighbourhood of Antwerp, in which place an embargo has been laid on many vessels. These commands, given in haste and peremptorily by the Emperor at this moment, are supposed to have for object, that the peace may be treated with repute, as also, that if it be not effected, the borders and provinces may be protected, and that he may anticipate the King; and moreover, that in case the Queen of England die in childbed, his Majesty's son may secure himself and his interests.

Brussels, 15th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* In the original despatch the names are misspelt, and the correct orthography—in this as in many other instances—is derived from the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar.

1555.

May 15.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.**82. CARDINAL POLE to ANNE DE MONTMORENCY, Constable of France.**

Has received the Constable's letters of the 10th instant from Monsr. de Noailles, who also told him of the King's good disposition in favour of the peace, and of the Constable's diligence about his journey to the conference, much to Pole's satisfaction; he having moreover heard of the departure of the Emperor's commissioners, which was to take place on the 9th of this month. Without further delay Pole will commence his journey to-day, with the intention of arriving at Calais on the 19th or 20th. Would not have delayed his departure so long had it not been that he wished to give time to the English commissioners, who departed hence three days ago, to make the necessary preparations on the spot; and also because he received a letter from Monsr. de Lansac dated Boulogne the 12th instant, announcing his commission from the King to confer with the Chancellor and Pole on their arrival at Calais, for which reason likewise he will yet more hasten his journey.

From London, 15th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 16.

Parti Segrete
Consiglio X.
File No. 9.**83. MOTION made in the Council of Ten, about intercession made by CHARLES V. and KING PHILIP, for repeal of the sentence passed on one of the accomplices of LODOVICO DA L'ARMI.**

When the Imperial ambassador and the ambassador from the King of England return into the College for the decision about the safe conduct demanded for Marco Antonio Erizzo, be they answered by the Doge with his usual wisdom, in the name of this Council, in conformity with what his Serenity has now represented as having been said by him to the Imperial ambassador aforesaid in this matter, expressing himself in such a way that their magnificencies may know that our wish would be to gratify their Majesties, but apologising on the plea of the atrocity of the case.*

Ayes, 23; Noes, 3; Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

(May 18.)

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**84. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

The Duke of Medina Celi, who arrived postwise on the day before yesterday, to speak to the Emperor by order of the King of England, for the cause written in my last despatch, departed yesterday for Gravelines, whither the other Imperial commissioners have betaken themselves. The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable were expected to-day at Ardres, and the other three French commissioners were to arrive in the course of three days. Those of the Queen of England have erected a wooden lodging (*alloggiamento*) in the country, near Guisnes and Ham, midway between Ardres and

* Marco Antonio Erizzo had been convicted as an accomplice in the murder of his uncle Mafio Bernardo, for which crime he was banished for life to the islands of Cherso and Ossero, and had probably escaped from thence. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. v. p. 215.)

1555.

Gravelines, where they will reside (*dove staranno*); and when the others shall have betaken themselves to their places, they will go and congratulate them on their having come for so good a purpose, and inspect their commissions, for the purpose of subsequently commencing the negotiation of the peace. It is said that the right reverend Legate will not go to visit either of the parties, but will act (*si adopererà*) when both shall be on the spot.

This morning a courier arrived from England, with letters from the King and Queen addressed to the Emperor, requesting him most earnestly (*efficacissimamente*) to write to his adherents at Rome in favour of Cardinal Pole, and not take into account that his right reverend Lordship does not request him so to do (*et non considerar che Sua Sigria. Reverma. non la ricerchi di cio*); sofor this reason chiefly, and to acquaint all his partisans with the present state of the negotiations for peace, the Emperor this day sent off a despatch to Rome showing that he is no less desirous of it than he is prepared for war.

Lord Courtenay (Il Sigr. Cortino) [Earl of Devonshire] arrived here yesterday, and the Emperor assigned him a lodging (*li fece dar alloggiamento*); and the day before, his Majesty sent for the Earl of Bedford, receiving him graciously, and giving him leave to go to Italy, which it is said will not be given so immediately to Courtenay.

Brussels, 18th May 1555.

[Italian.]

May 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

85. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The commissioners of the Queen of England arrived at Calais on the 15th instant, Cardinal Pole was expected on the 17th, and the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable reached Ardres on the 15th, the Imperialists being at Gravelines; and on the arrival of the other three French commissioners and of the right reverend Legate, the negotiation for the peace will commence in a plain called Marck in the English territory, distant five miles from Calais, Ardres, and Gravelines, in the wooden lodging (*nell' alloggiamento di legno*) ordered by the Queen. The King of the Romans writes to the Emperor that it having pleased God to call the Queen [Joanna] their mother to himself, and knowing that should peace be made it is the Emperor's intention to cross to Spain, he wishes to confer with him; so he would fain know whether he purposes making the journey through Italy, or by way of England, that he may wait for him at Augsburg, or come to see him in Flanders. The Imperial troops are mustering between Namur and Marienburg, the French forces likewise marching in the same direction, with the intention of preventing the Imperialists from erecting a fortress near Marienburg, for which purpose the 3,000 pioneers mentioned by me were sent thither. *Last evening a Spaniard arrived here postwise, sent by the King of England to the Emperor to tell him of the many libels which have been thrown into several houses and about the streets to his own dishonour and that of the Queen, for the purpose of making the people rebel against their Majesties, asking advice whether he ought to proceed against the inventor of this device*

1555.

(di tal fatto); *giving him notice also of the suspicion entertained by them that the Queen had died in childbed.*

To-morrow the Duchess of Alva will depart for Italy.

Brussels, 19th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 19.

MS. St. Mark's

Library.

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

86. CARDINAL POLE to ANNE DE MONTMORENCY, Constable of France.

On his arrival here yesterday, heard by the Constable's letter of the 16th from Montreuil, and by the verbal statement of Monsieur de Lansac, that he purposed being at Ardres next Monday. Is very glad of this, as it confirms his hopes of peace. The Bishop of Arras has arrived at Gravelines. Has answered the Constable's enquiries made through Monsieur de Lansac, as also his letter from Paris of the 8th.

Calais, 19th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 20.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

87. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English ambassador resident here has lately negotiated the release of certain delegates (*ambasciatori*) who were sent from Cremona, Lodi, and Novara to the King of England, and who were captured by his most Christian Majesty's ships between Dover and Calais, and after much discussion the resolve announced to the ambassador was to the effect that had they been going to England on the service of the Queen they would have been released immediately, by reason of the good peace between France and her, but as amongst the papers of the delegates (*ambasciatori*) their commissions were found, showing that they were going to negotiate with the King about his own affairs, in which the Queen has no interest whatever, they were rightfully made prisoners and taken to Paris.

The Cardinal de Tournon will arrive at the court to-day, having been called by the King that he may make use of him during the absence of the Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Melun, 20th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 21.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

88. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Cardinal Pole arrived at Calais on the 18th instant, but the three remaining French commissioners had not reached Ardres. Lord Paget, the commissioner from the Queen of England, writes that as soon as they come he and his colleagues will spend four days in visiting the Imperial and French commissioners, and awaiting their return of the compliment. The posts which used to come from Calais to Brussels have by the Emperor's order been changed to Antwerp, his Majesty choosing Queen Maria to be the first to open the letters, to save the time lost by sending them from this place. The French commissioners are charged to negotiate a truce for 10 years, and the Imperialists the suspension of hostilities until

1555.

September. A secretary is come to Brussels from the Duke of Mantua to urge the Emperor to have at heart the restitution of the marquisate of Montferrat. The Imperial forces are ordered to Namur, and 1,000 more pioneers have been sent to reinforce the 3,000, it being intended to build a fortress on a site three leagues beyond Marienburg, 1,200 paces in circumference, to secure the province of Namur; besieging, as it were, Marienburg, and facilitating invasion of the French territory and a safe retreat. At Antwerp Queen Maria has reformed the Council, changing all its former members, and adding three merchants, which election of new ministers has very greatly pleased the people and the merchants, and it is said the Queens will return to Brussels this week. Don Ferrante's agent, who departed with him, has come back, and tells me he asked leave to go and stay at his own home in Burgundy, but was desired not to depart until he obtained performance of the promises made him [Don Ferrante] by the Emperor, and until after his interview with King Philip, as both their Majesties have given him to understand that they think of employing him; the secretary adding that, should there be war, they will avail themselves of Don Ferrante, by reason of the necessity for having in Italy a personage of such valour and authority, but too many great things would be needed before they could move him from Mantua; and that in time of peace he considered it certain they would not again employ his Excellency.

A Spanish gentleman has arrived here postwise, sent by Cardinal Pacheco for the purpose, it is said, of praying the Emperor to favour his election as Pope, a demand which surprises the whole court, he not being a man of any ability.

The Duke of Alva, the Duchess, and the Signor Gio. Battista Gastaldo, departed this morning, and the Duke took with him eight post horses (*et menò seco otto poste*), having had advices yesterday that the cavalry of Marquis Albert, stationed on the Moselle, was no longer there, and that the Princes and free towns, to whom the Emperor wrote, assured him that his Excellency would be well greeted and in safety everywhere; notwithstanding which, he arrayed one of his servants sumptuously, so that on the journey he might be taken for the master. The Spaniards who accompany the Duchess are about 300, on horseback, including some 25 poor gentlemen of the Toledo family. The Italians complain that, having requested the Duke to take them into his service in several military capacities, he would not give any one, as he did to the Spaniards, the sure promise [to that effect]. Two of his Excellency's sons (the one legitimate and the other natural) departed postwise subsequently, and to-morrow will be followed by Don Garcia de Toledo and Don Juan de Figueroa, his Excellency's near relations. Between the Duke's sons and Don Garcia there is a misunderstanding, because the grade of general of the Spanish infantry, of which hope had been given to Don Garcia, was desired by the Duke's son, who caused his father to ask it of the Emperor, but being a youth who gives small indication of military prowess, and not wishing to prejudice Don

1555.

Garcia, his Majesty would not grant it him. On the Duke's arrival in Italy he will receive his Majesty's orders about the bestowal of this grade, and that of the government of Sienna, concerning which, it has been much debated whether Don Garcia, being the brother-in-law of the Duke of Florence,* was adapted to such a post, nor has anything as yet been decided. The Emperor's order is for the Duke of Alva to remain a certain time at Milan, and when he goes to Naples Don Bernardino de Mendoza is to come into the Milanese as his lieutenant there, remaining always apart from the Duke, about whose person it is said there will be the Signor Gio. Battista Gastaldo and the Colonel Hironimo da Pisa. The Duke's partisans say that, being a personage of great goodness and good intellect, and very adroit in business, being also wealthy, he might do the Emperor and the King good service, as he has done heretofore. *Others say that his Excellency, not having much knowledge of military matters, and being very faint-hearted, and his constitution impaired and feeble, he will be ill able to bear so important a charge; of which his Excellency being aware, he therefore, since he came from England, has suggested to the Emperor, and well nigh importuned him, to make peace or a good truce (Altri dicono che non havendo sua Eccellentia molta intelligentia della militia et essendo molto timido di cuore, et fatto adusto et debile di complessione, sarà poco atto a sostenere così importante carico, et perchè sua Eccellentia si conosce tale, ha in tutti i ragionamenti da poi che venne d'Inghilterra ricordato et quasi importunato l'Imperatore a voler la pace d'una buona tregua)*, which would be the means of aggrandizing his family and kinsfolk, he having such powerful enemies as Don Ferrante, the Bishop of Arras, Don Ruy Gomez, and well nigh all the grandees of Spain.

The agent of Ascanio Colonna departs today, to reside with his Excellency, to whom the affair of his master has been referred, as likewise all Italian matters.

Brussels, 21st May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

89. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King wished to conceal the death of his grandmother, Queen Joanna of Spain, which, although known so long ago as the beginning of last week, was kept secret until after Queen Mary's delivery; but it being heard subsequently that the event had been published immediately at the Emperor's court, his Majesty was compelled to adapt himself to his father's custom (*uso*), he and his whole court going into mourning without farther delay. Whilst the obsequies and funeral (*mortorio*) are being prepared, his Majesty will seclude himself, and not appear in public until after the performance of this

* In March 1539, Cosmo de Medici married Eleanor, daughter of Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples. (See *L'Art de vérifier les Dates.*)

1555.

ceremony, when he will divest himself [of mourning], and for joy of the delivery change his costume, should God be pleased to prosper it. Queen Joanna died on Good Friday the 12th ulto., of this death, which is natural, though of another which is accidental she may be said to have died many years ago. This demise, besides other consequences, will enable their Majesties (*queste Maestà*) to avail themselves of 20,000 or 25,000 ducats per annum, which had been assigned for the expenses and household provision of Queen Joanna, who was waited on precisely as if her royal dignity had undergone no restraint (*la quale non era altrimenti servita, come se fusse stata senza alcun impedimento nella sua dignità Regale*).

Here, although matters are now proceeding quietly (*le cose di quà benchè procedino al presente quiete*), yet is everything in suspense, and dependent on the result of this delivery, which, according to the opinion of the physicians, unless it take place at this new phase of the moon two days hence, may be protracted beyond the full [moon], and [its] occultation, on the 4th or 5th of next month (*quando non siegua in questa nuova congiuntione di luna che sarà fra dui giorni, possa andar più in là che al tondo et oppositione alli 4 ò 5 dell' altro*);* her Majesty's belly having greatly declined, which is said yet more to indicate the approaching term (*essendosi molto abbassato il ventre a sua Maestà, segno, secondo dicono, di avvicinarsi tuttavia più al fine*).

King Philip gave the same commissions and orders about the fresh election to the Popedom, to the Imperial ambassador at Rome, and to the Cardinals his adherents (*Cardinali confidenti*), as on the former occasion, proposing the most illustrious Legate [in preference] to any [other candidate]; and although the said commissions were then of no use, the election having taken place before they arrived, the present instructions are expected to arrive [in time] and to prove serviceable.

The Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived at Boulogne on the 18th, and were to be at Ardres on the 19th; on that same day the Bishop of Arras with the other Imperial Commissioners arrived at Gravelines, and Cardinal Pole, who departed hence after the others, is already known to have made a good passage [to Calais] on Saturday the 18th. All those who are to attend being already assembled, it may be supposed that the negotiation will commence speedily. *I desire to suggest to your Serenity whether you would think it fit, in case any peace be concluded between these Princes, for me to perform any office with his Majesty here* (con questa regia Maestà); *in order that you may be named amongst their friends and confederates. Now that as he is master of Naples and Milan, and will be mentioned distinctively* (hora che sua Maestà come patrona di Napoli et Milano separatamente sarà nominata), *you might give me a commission to that effect, as I dare not speak on the subject without your express order, from lack of which I have hesitated to send any one of my attendants* (un mio) *across the Channel,*

* There was a new moon on the 5th June 1555 (see *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, ed. Paris, 1770, p. 82).

1555.

to the conference, so as more authentically and speedily to acquaint you with the negotiation there, from fear, as nobody can make the passage without a permit or unknown to those on whom it depends, of possibly displeasing the parties, and lest my messenger should be ill received, nor did I know how far it might be agreeable to your Serenity; but the other ambassadors will perhaps not have failed to supply this deficiency, they being able to do so with greater convenience and less regard than I (et minor rispetto di me).

The three ships prepared by these English merchants for the voyage to Muscovy and Cathayo (*Cattajo*), being already loaded and supplied with every requisite, will depart this week with greater hope of prosperous navigation out and home than the last time.

The summaries received with your Serenity's letters of the 23rd ult. were communicated as usual.

London, 21st May 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pusini.]

May 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

90. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French Commissioners who were missing arrived at Ardres on the 20th instant, and they all demanded of the English Commissioners a safe-conduct from King Philip, not being satisfied with the one from the Emperor alone; as his Imperial Majesty might die.

In the place where the Queen of England had the house built, four doors have been made, near each of which is a house, three being for the commissioners, and the fourth for the right reverend Legate; and the first, where the conference is to be held, will be in the centre, and in the evening all will return to their own quarters.

The Imperialists have commenced the fortress near Dinant in a site considered excellent by nature, and Martin Van Holt? (Martin Vairois—*sic*) is gone with 7,000 infantry to support them.

Cardinal Pacheco's agent has left for England to make the same request to the King that he did to the Emperor, and to give account of his master's proceedings in the kingdom of Naples.

Brussels, 23d May 1555.

[Italian.]

May 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

91. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Went to Fontainebleau and was invited to dinner by the Duke de Guise, who afterwards presented me to the King. Asked him if he had any news of the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable. The King replied that he had advices that his commissioners, with the Imperialists, and the English, and Cardinal Pole likewise, arrived at the places appointed them on the 20th, namely, the French at Ardres, the Imperialists at Gravelines, and the English

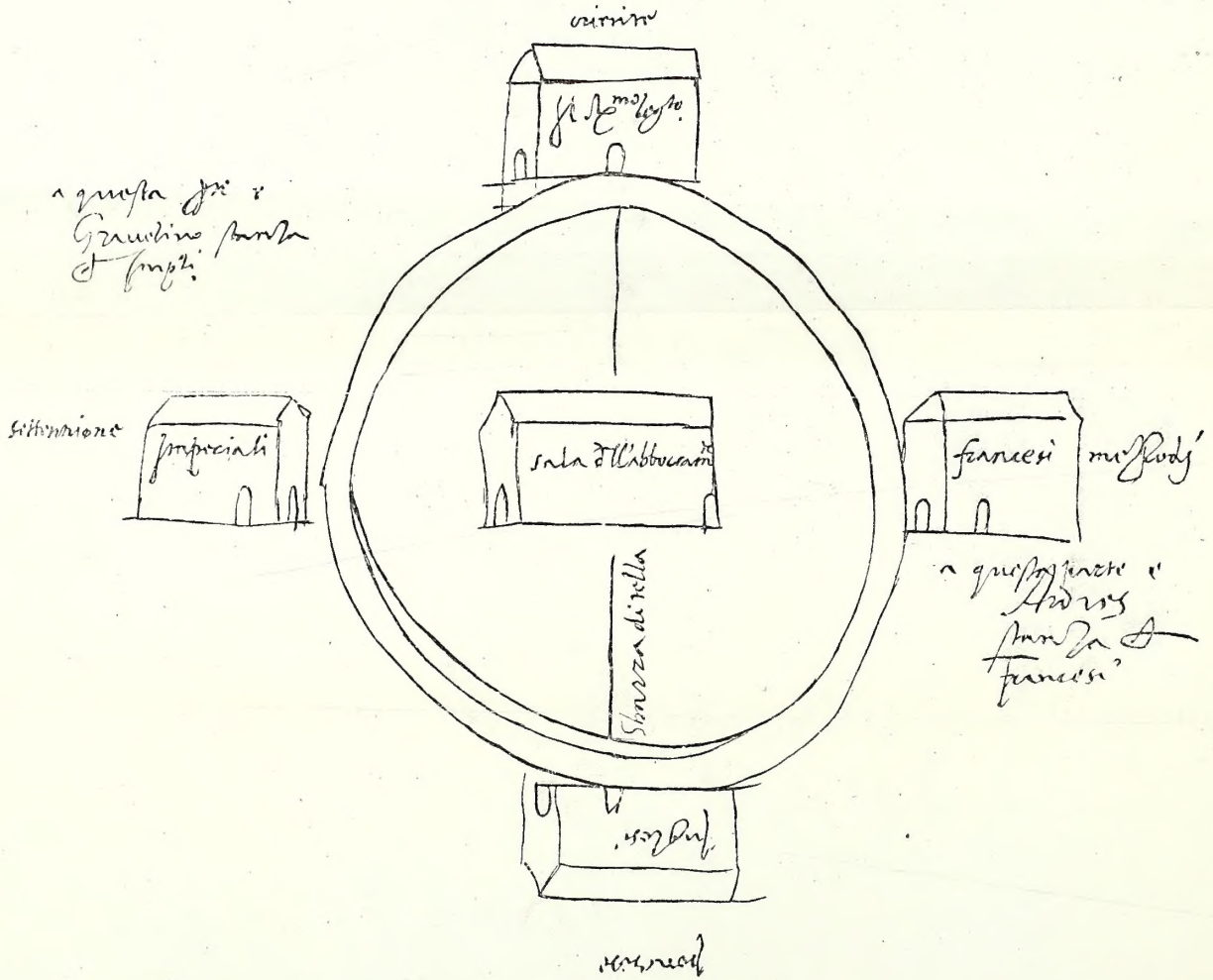
1555.

together with Cardinal Pole at Calais, and that his most Christian Majesty's commissioners had sent Mons. de Lansac with the safe-conduct in his name, and were waiting for the Imperialists to do the like; whereupon the day of the conference would be appointed, and that it would take place about the 24th; adding that the English had brought with them five wooden houses to be erected in the open country, one for Cardinal Pole, one for the Imperialists, one for the French, one for the English themselves, and the fifth, in which the conference was to take place, would be in the centre. His Majesty then remaining silent, I asked him what he hoped about peace, in reply to which, the words he uttered were these, "*Peace! either truce or peace; my ministers will not depart from what is reasonable;*" but when pronouncing that first word "*peace,*" he made a certain motion with his body and eyes, whereby it seemed to me to comprehend that there was not much hope of it in his Majesty, who then added, "For the present it is not possible to form any opinion, as the Imperialists say many fair words, and the King of England shows himself very anxious for it; but in two or three conferences, which I hope my ministers will have held by the 10th or 12th of next month, we shall ascertain the fact." After this, continuing the conversation, he said that the Queen of England had not yet brought forth, which began to surprise everybody, but that the ambassador resident here had told him lately that she could not go beyond the 20th of this month; and although some persons chose to disbelieve her pregnancy, and an individual who had seen her Majesty asserted that her body bore no signs whereby any one could vouch for it, yet nevertheless, knowing women's ways (*il proceder che fanno le donne*), his most Christian Majesty was of opinion that she was pregnant, but exceeded her time (*ma che scorresse*), as they often do, but that at any rate the matter will soon be very manifest to everybody.

A very intelligent nobleman of great quality told me in the course of conversation, that as to the will of the King, it was notorious that he was not inclined either towards peace or truce, but that the persuasions of the Constable, of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and of all the others were so stringent, and put his most Christian Majesty to such straits (et metevano sua Maestà Christianissima in così stretti termini), laying before him the poverty of the people, the death and imprisonment of so many of his subjects, the expense incurred, and other similar matters; that as they had induced him to agree to this conference, so might it be apprehended that finding the mode to make peace well nigh impossible, should the Emperor persist in not consenting to it, these ministers, from their great wish for quiet, may persuade his most Christian Majesty to purchase it by restoring to him some part of what he has in hand; and he gave me a hint about the fortresses retained by him in Tuscany.

Melun, 23d May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

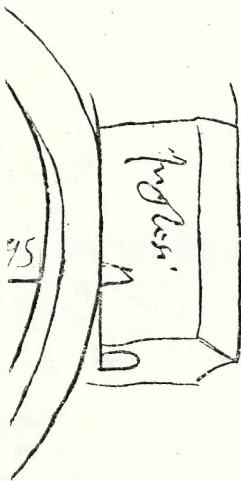


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1555.

May 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

92. NEWS-LETTER enclosed in the despatch of GIOVANNI MICHEL, to the DOGE and SENATE, dated 27th May 1555.

On the 20th instant, Lord Paget went to Gravelines, to visit the Emperor's commissioners (*Deputati*), and on the morrow, did the like by those of the most Christian King at Ardres; and on Ascension-day, the 23d, all the commissioners for either party, together with the Legate (Cardinal Pole) and the English lords, assembled in the country at the place called Marek (*La Marca*),* two leagues equi-distant from Ardres and Gravelines, where, by order and at the cost of the most Serene Queen, wooden lodgings had been prepared for all the aforesaid personages, who were separated from each other by a centre hall in which to meet on the days of the conference.†

At this first congress the English lords arranged that neither the Imperialists nor the French were to have more than a hundred horse, with one single [running] footman for each, which arrangement greatly displeased the French lords, as they had come fully attended, accompanied both by noblemen and prelates, and by gentlemen and servants. By this regulation they were compelled, both Bishops and Knights of St. Michael (*Cavalieri dell' ordine*) as well as the Princes likewise, to take but one stirrup-man (*staffiero*) with them, and for the avoidance of giving offence to any one, owing to the great number of gentlemen there, it was requisite to draw lots for the hundred [horse] who on that occasion were to accompany the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable, promising the others, in number 400, who remained at Ardres, that they should go from time to time by lot, in turn, whenever the commissioners shall chance to assemble.

Calais, 23d May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

93. NEWS-LETTER enclosed in the despatch of GIOVANNI MICHEL to the DOGE and SENATE, dated 1st June.

As determined on Ascension-day, Cardinal Pole with the English commissioners were, at 1 p.m. yesterday, at the site of the conference, where the French commissioners had arrived shortly before, and being taken by the English commissioners to the Cardinal's lodgings (*stanza*), they withdrew into the privy-chamber (*in la camera privata*) where they remained together for upwards of two hours; and on their departure the Imperialists came and remained as long a time or a little less; both parties stating their rights and pretensions, accusing their adversaries and apologising for themselves. In the meanwhile, the French commissioners remained in their own quarters, and when the Imperialists returned to theirs, they were requested by Monsieur de Lansac to discourse together in the common hall (*nella commune casa*) of the conference, where on arriving, being accompanied as usual by the English commissioners, the Cardinal of Lorraine spoke apart with the Bishop of Arras, and the Constable did the like with Monsieur de Benincourt‡ for an hour, during which Cardinal Pole remained in his own apartment;

* A village in the Calais Pale. (See Chronicle of Calais.)

† A rough outline of the "wooden-lodgings" accompanies this news-letter.

‡ Benincourt [Bugnicourt], M. de. (See Lalain, Ponce de, in the late Mr. Turbull's Index, 1553-1558.)

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but according to report, they merely treated about the Emperor's French prisoners; after which, all having taken leave of each other very courteously, they returned to their lodgings in their towns, departing from the place [Marck] at sunset, having arranged to return to the conference on the morrow.

Calais, 25th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 25.
Filza No. 134.
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

94. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

My very good (*sic*) [Lord?]

I have received two letters from you of the 8th of this instant with the commission to us five (*sic*) [touching?] the bargain and sale with the other box with the patent and the bill for Mr. Comptroller which I delivered; and first touching Mr. Blunt,* I have procured for him to go with my Lord Admiral to the Emperor's court, and being there upon his letter, or my Lord Admiral's in his behalf to Mr. Petre, or to me, I doubt not to obtain his license, as you do wish; and this is thought to be the best way for him, and with less difficulty.

Concerning yourself, that manor you purposed to sell is entailed, as we be informed by Heydon. We have sent for your patent to try the matter certainly, but Heydon declareth upon his credit that it is assuredly so. Also there are other matters in it whereby your purpose therein is frustrate. I cannot at this time discourse as I fain would at length, for want of time, wherefore I will but touch the matter now, deferring the more full declaration thereof to my next letters. Your friends be of the advice, saying your mind cannot be accomplished in this matter. To supply it, the best way is thought to be a general survey, whereby, without any sale of lands or any spoil of wood sale, or any excessive leases, you may be holpen with what will serve your turn, and if you mind to take that way as I . . . ve, which way it can be no (nowe) otherwise than may be, by substantial, skilful, and honest persons, a perfect survey made, whereby it will appear what may be gotten, and the book may be sent thereof unto yourself, by the which you shall be as perfectly instructed as any of us, and nothing to be determined until your Lordship, upon the sight of the book, shall signify your pleasure what you will have us to do in it anew. This way cannot be prejudicial unto you, for the survey being made whereby the state of your lands will fully appear unto you what may be done, yet your Lordship is at your liberty to do as you shall think best when you know it. This is the opinion of those you put in trust.

I trust my Lady your mother shall have a chamber in the Court.

There is 430*l.* which Heydon hath, and will shortly pay for this half year's rent, whereof 200*l.* is paid to Low and Blunt; 100*l.* I shall shortly receive, and for the other 100 I am contented to spare it, to be disbursed among the poorer sort of your creditors

* Query John Blount. See Domestic Calendar, Mary, p. 66, 1555, May 8, Calais. "Earl of Devonshire to James Basset. Desires him to procure for his uncle John Blount a licence to travel."

1555.

which hath most want, and that as it shall be ordered will satisfy for the time the most part of them. Walker receiveth the money of Heydon, and payeth it out by our order.

I am glad to perceive, as I do by letters from Mr. Bonvisi,* that your Lordship arrived at Brussels about the 15th of May, and especially because I understand the Duke of Alva was not gone before your departure, which the King and Queen wished earnestly, and so did all your friends; and now I desire much to be advised how you were received and used there, which I doubt not was exceeding honourably. I rejoyce at the kindness Mr. Bonvisi sheweth you.

My Lord Cardinal past over the seas to Calais this day sevenight, and had a goodly passage as might be, and was nothing sick. My Lord Chancellor and my Lord Steward past the Wednesday or Thursday before. On Wednesday last I think all the commissioners met. God grant they may bring their good purpose to happy conclusion.

My Lady Elizabeth is at her full liberty (*sic*, the word "and" erased), yet she remaineth still at the court. She hath seen the Queen's highness twice. I did all your messages and commendations, according to your Lordship's letter, who all were most glad to hear of you, and most humbly and heartily, every one by one, recommendeth them unto you. Your Lordship did well specially to name them, because they might see their names in your letter, and I, for haste, omit them.

Her Majesty, thanks be to God, is in as good health as may be wished, and by the next full of the moon, or shortly thereupon, I perfectly hope in God his goodness we shall have that comfortable news of her Highness' happy and prosperous deliverance.

This, with my duty most humbly remembered, with like thanks for your Lordship's great goodness unto me, I will commit the same to the blessed tuition of Almighty God.

From London, the 25th of May, in great haste, as you may perceive by it.

Your Lordship's most assuredly at commandment,

(Signed) JAMES BASSETT.

Directed: To the right honorable and my verie good Lorde my Lo. of Devon, at Brussels.

Contemporary endorsement; 25 May 1555. Mr. Bassett.

[*Original draft.*]

May 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

95. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The conference commenced on the 23d, and so far as he has been able to understand, the commissioners on both sides saw each other, but merely exchanged general compliments. The English lords offered themselves to the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable as mediators for the negotiations, to which the French commissioners did not consent, *perhaps because they do not trust in*

* The Antwerp merchant, Anthony Bonvisi. (See Foreign Calendar, Queen Mary, Index.)

1555.

such negotiating; and they chose the Bishops of Vannes* and Orleans, they also being his most Christian Majesty's commissioners, to negotiate with the Imperialists, and were to meet yesterday, the 25th. For the present they will not negotiate peace, but a truce, or suspension of hostilities, and the most Christian King seems unwilling to stipulate in Piedmont, unless some other agreement be included in the said suspension, as the Marshal de Brissac has informed his Majesty it would be for the benefit of his Majesty's interests to carry on the war in Piedmont, as he has matters on hand which might prove very profitable to his most Christian Majesty.

Melun, 26th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portion in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

96. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of Arras writes that the French commissioners, having heard that he and the other Imperialists had been joined by a few horsemen, so that the number of 100 was exceeded, sent word to the English, that they (the French) also, would send for other troops, and march 10,000 infantry to Ardes. On that same day, Cardinal Pole, having with all the commissioners entered the common hall, made a long speech, saying that they were called to this negotiation for peace by the divine will, and owing to the extreme desire and need of Christendom, exhorting them to keep their minds well disposed, in order to obtain this result; and then, turning to the English, he praised them extremely for the pains they had taken for so divine a work, praying them also to persevere in keeping both sides to their duty (*in contener in officio una et altera parte*). The Imperialists said that what the Legate had uttered was all just and fair, and to be desired by everybody, and that although the Emperor had received many injuries from the King of France, he was nevertheless willing to suppress his anger, and that he always was and still is inclined to peace. The French also commended the intention and persuasion of the Legate, and although they would not admit that their King had committed any error, they showed that he was not less well inclined towards the peace than the Emperor. The English promised that in like manner as they had laboured by word of mouth, so would they do by deeds, and, taking the Imperialists by the hand, they made them embrace each other, loving and complimentary words being exchanged, and yesterday they were to confer together.

I send a plan (received from the English ambassador) of the lodgings erected in the country.

A great personage has assured me that letters arrived from England to-day, and that he heard in *secret*, for certain, that the Queen has given manifest signs of *not being pregnant*.

Lord Courtenay has been sounded (*è stato tentato*) whether he

* Sebastiau de l'Aubespine, Bishop of Vannes and Limoges. (See Foreign Calendar, Mary, Index.)

1555.

would marry the Duchess of Lorraine, as from what was said by the Signor Gio. Battista Gastaldo, *the Duke of Savoy* will not have her.
Brussels, 26th May 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

May 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

97. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By the enclosed "advice" will be seen what has taken place across the Channel, down to the 23rd instant, at the site of the conference. Besides this "advice," his secretary has seen a letter of the same date from the secretary Aubespine (who attends the conference in the name of his King), containing a paragraph word for word as follows:—"We are informed that these Imperialists will come very coldly and slowly to this negotiation, expecting us to offer them something, which is contrary to our instructions, whereby we are ordered to demand many things from them." At the first meeting, when they discussed the mode of negotiating, it was determined that from that day forth neither the Imperial nor the French commissioners were to stir, for the purpose of being together, but that all business was to be treated through the English commissioners and the Legate Cardinal Pole, one or more of the English being sent to and fro for that purpose, with the proposals and replies, according to circumstances; and with the consent of the others Lord Paget proposed a suspension of hostilities on the frontiers there (*a quei confini*), at least during the conference, lest some fresh accident impede the negotiation; which suspension, although not then conceded, would, it was said, be agreed to. Even persons on the spot are unable at this commencement to form any opinion about the result, but if it corresponds with the demonstrations which are made by all the commissioners, and which they continue to make, it cannot at any rate be otherwise than good.

The most Serene Queen continues well as usual, nor hitherto has she felt any movement indicating parturition.

The secretary Mardones, heretofore in the service of Don Pedro de Toledo, came hither lately from Florence, having been first at Brussels with the Emperor and the Duke of Alva. He has been every day lately on very secret business with King Philip and Ruý Gomez, and it can only be inferred that, having given minute information concerning the affairs of that kingdom [of Naples], about which he is thoroughly informed, by reason of the office he held, and owing to his long residence there, they are intent on his recall, for the purpose, it is said, of sending him back to reside at Naples and re-occupy his former post.

The secretary of Cardinal Pacheco also arrived to-day from Naples. He informed the King that by industry and diligence during his government of that kingdom* he collected and saved

* On the death of the Viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo, in February 1553, the Emperor appointed as his successor Cardinal Pacheco, who arrived at Naples in June of

1555.

180,000 ducats, of which his Majesty can now dispose at his pleasure, nor at this moment could he have brought any better news.

To-day one of the chamberlains of the King, Don Diego de Azevedo, the same who was to have accompanied the Duchess of Alva to Italy, remaining as the Duke's lieutenant at Milan, but was not allowed to depart, the King choosing him to stay here, has left for the Imperial court, to make what the Spaniards call "a compliment of condolence" (*un complimento di condolentia*) with the Emperor and the Queens,* and with the Duchess of Lorraine, on the death of Queen Joanna. Don Diego will endeavour to obtain from the Emperor the post of Treasurer of Aragon, which is now vacant, and which is canvassed very earnestly by him and many others, owing to its emoluments, their Majesties here (*queste Maestà*) recommending him warmly.

Last week a serious affray (*una grossa custione*) took place in the neighbourhood of the court between the English and the Spaniards, and the English multiplied instantaneously to the amount of 500 armed men, of whom, however, before they were parted four or five were killed, and upwards of 25 wounded, and of the Spaniards only five or six were wounded, and one man killed. The affair, although by order of their Majesties concealed, can nevertheless not be kept secret. In that same week a young knave, 18 years old, either from whim and folly, or rather villany, at the instigation of others, proclaimed himself, wherever he went, to be King Edward, and by this feint (*et con questo colore*) being believed to be such, both in the country and here, and many persons pretending to credit him, he raised a tumult amongst the populace. The young rogue, being obstinate and not choosing to retract, was whipped through the city and had his ears cropped.† It is said that another individual of the same humour has been discovered and imprisoned; nor is this a novelty in England, as of yore there was a similar impostor, who represented himself as one of the sons of Edward the 4th, they having been murdered in the Tower, and through the followers whom he induced to support him, King Henry VII. was compelled to raise an army and give him battle; which I mention that your Serenity may comprehend what strange fancies prevail amongst these people, and how much their ideas differ from those of other nations.

London, 27th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 27.

98. MOTION made in the SENATE.

Senato Mar,
vol. xxxiii. p. 17.

By letters from Zuan Michiel, ambassador in England, the Senate has heard the great expense he is compelled to incur in that lega-

that year, and on the 25th November 1554 resigned his charge to the Marquis of Pescara, who took possession of the kingdom in the name of King Philip. (See Giannone, vol. 4, pp. 97-99.)

* Eleanor and Maria of Austria, widows of Francis of France and Lewis of Hungary.

† This impostor was one William, a lackey, as recorded by Machyn, date 21st May 1555. The diarist says he was whipped because he represented himself as a messenger from Edward VI., but does not allude to the cropping of his ears.

1555.

tion, both on account of the great scarcity now prevalent in that kingdom, as also by reason of a variety of occurrences there, since the arrival of the Prince of Spain, compelling the said ambassador from necessity to incur much extraordinary expenditure for the honour and dignity of the post he fills, to the serious cost and detriment of his entire family; for which it being fitting to provide, as before the said nobleman's departure from Venice, the Senate did justly provide for all the other ambassadors—

Put to the ballot, that notwithstanding the restrictive laws with regard to this matter, the Signory's College may present its opinion to the Senate about the provision to be made for what is aforesaid, as has been done heretofore in similar cases.

Ayes, 104; Noes, 47; Neutrals, 4.

Die 27 Maij 1555, lecta Collegio.

[*Italian.*]

May 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

99. NEWS-LETTER enclosed in the Despatch of GIOVANNI MICHEL to the DOGE and SENATE, dated 6th June.

Since Ascension day the negotiations for the peace have been incessant, nor until now has it been possible to do anything but listen to the demands and pretensions of one side and the other; and whereas it was supposed the French would come determined to restore many things claimed by the Emperor, and of which they have deprived the Empire and other Princes, they now find that the said French have come chiefly to demand the duchy of Milan, urging many rights whereby to prove their title and claims much more clearly than they ever did, and they say that the cessions and agreements (*chè le cessioni et capitulationi*) made by King Francis could not prejudice his son King Henry; whilst on the other hand the Imperialists demand the duchy of Burgundy; so that their disputes seem more on foot than ever, and it will be more difficult to reconcile them than was expected, though we think, nevertheless, that so many personages of importance would not have come hither to increase the disputes instead of adjusting the peace. Although they are somewhat haughty in their demands at the commencement, they will at length come to some fair adjustment, as it would be too great a shame were they to separate in discord; so will wait to see the result and in four or six days they will be better able to form an opinion, and the writer thinks that in a fortnight at the utmost this conference will be ended.

Calais, 28th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

100. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Gives what news he can, though everything is conducted with such extreme caution that they did not even admit the secretaries of the sovereigns themselves. To keep matters more secret the most Christian King has retired with a very small retinue to a little village called Issy, although on pretence of hunting and of giving an

1555.

opportunity for cleansing the palace of Fontainebleau, which from the long residence there of the Court had commenced emitting a stench (*che essendo la Corte lì già molto tempo, cominciava a render mal' odore*).

The Cardinal Legate Pole arrived at Calais on the 15th with the English Lords, namely the Bishop of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget, and the Imperial Lords arrived on the 18th; the Legate was much pleased at their arriving before the French Lords, who did not come until the 20th. The Imperial Commissioners are the Duke of Medina Celi, the Bishop of Arras, Monsr. de Benincourt,* the President Viglius (*Voglio*),† and the Secretary Bava (*sic*),‡ and for the French side the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Constable, the Bishops of Vannes and Orleans, and the Secretary Aubespine. On the 23rd they conferred together in the apartments (*stantie*) built by the English Lords, and it was agreed that each of the parties for either side was to bring 100 horse and no more. The Imperialists made their appearance clad in mourning for the death of the Emperor's mother, and the French were very pompously attired, and through the mediation of the Legate, both sides having embraced each other very courteously (*con dimostrazioni molto officiose*), all persons save the above-mentioned Lords elected and appointed were desired to withdraw; whereupon Cardinal Pole having placed himself at the head of a table between the English Lords, the Imperialists being on the right and the French on the left, his right reverend Lordship, speaking in Italian, urged them to make the peace so desired by all Christendom, reminding them that as their Princes (*sui principi*) had elected him with the best intention, so also ought they to reciprocate by facts; and then the Bishop of Winchester showed how much his Queen had toiled in this matter with no other object than the common weal, and devoid of any personal interest. The Duke of Medina Celi next said a few words in Spanish about the good will of the Emperor, and was followed by the Bishop of Arras, showing how much the Emperor wished for peace, and moreover that it should be lasting and sincere; to which the Cardinal of Lorraine replied that the most Christian King was of the same mind, giving assurance that the King would prefer the common weal to his own personal advantage, provided the mode of making the peace was sincere; and the Constable added a few words of like import. These speeches being ended the secretaries read the commissions of the sovereigns, after which a very handsome collation was brought by English gentlemen, both parties drinking together amicably, and it was arranged for Cardinal Pole and the English Lords to be mediators for the future, so as to facilitate some decision.

Melun, 29th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* Bugnicourt, M. de. See Lalain, Ponce de, in Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Queen Mary, Index.

† See Mr. Turnbull's Index, as above.

‡ Query, Secretary Bave. See Mr. Turnbull, as before.

1555.

May 29.

Filza No. 134.
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

101. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Sir ROBERT ROCHESTER, Comptroller.

General thanks for many services. Begg him to give credence to bearer.

The 19th instant "the Duke of Alva brought me to the Emperor's presence, whose Highness used me very honourably, and as me seems his Majesty, God be thanked, is of indifferent good health, which I assure was unto me a great comfort to behold," &c. &c.

Your assured friend,

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

(Signed) E. D.

[Original draft.]

May 29.

Filza No. 134.
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

102. The SAME to Mr. WALGRAVE [Sir Edward Waldegrave?]

Thanks him for service. . Asks him to give bearer credence.

Tells him that on Sunday the 19th instant the Duke of Alva brought him to the Emperor. To the same effect as above.

Your loving friend.

In a P.S. sends "my most hearty commendations to my lady your wife, and to Mrs. Pate, her sister; Mr. Gentleman Usher."

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[Original draft.]

May 29.

Filza No. 134.
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

103. The SAME to Mr. ENGLEFELD.

Sends the bearer his servant partly to declare his "full mind," recommending himself.

"News we have none here, but that according to the old proverb, that great princes make peace with sword in hand. Even so, for all the meeting of these great personages for the conclusion of the peace, yet is there on either side for the wars great preparation.

"The 19th of this month I spake with the Emperor's Majesty, whose Highness, thanks to Almighty God, sat up in his chair, and had, as it appeared, his health very well. I was brought to his Majesty by the Duke of Alva, who departed the next morning very early."

Your loving friend, &c.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[Original draft.]

May 29.

Filza No. 134.
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

104. The SAME to Mr. LEGHE (Sir John Leigh).*

Thanks for his friendship; asks him to give credence to the bearer his servant.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

Your loving friend, &c.

[Original draft.]

May 29.

Filza No. 134.
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

105. The SAME to the LORD TREASURER [John Paulet, Marquis of Winchester].

"I have spoken at Antwerp with Mr. Gresham, touching the 1,000 marks, the which I should receive from him by the credit of my Lord Chancellor's letter, and yours, who hath promised to furnish me accordingly to the tenure of your letters; albeit, it seemeth

* See endorsement (p. 90, footnote).

1555.

by him money here is hard to come by." Thinks it right to thank the Lord Treasurer for this credit for 1,000 marks, which "is a singular commodity and benefit unto me."

(Signed) Your good Lordship's assuredly,

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

E. D.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29.

Filza No. 134.

Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoseritti,
Venetian
Archives.

106. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Mr. BASSET.

Desires him to give credence to the bearer. Has no news to send, except that, notwithstanding the meeting of these great personages for peace, "yet there is on both sides great preparations for the wars, as I doubt not but you do right well know." Desires in general terms to be remembered to all his friends.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29.

Filza No. 134.

Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoseritti,
Venetian
Archives.

107. The SAME to "my LADY MOTHER" [Gertrude Blount, widow of Henry Courtenay, eleventh Earl of Devonshire, and first Marquis of Exeter].

Good Madam, according to your commandment I am bold to trouble you with these my letters, ascertaining you that at the making hereof, God be thanked, I was in health, trusting you are the same. On Sunday last I was brought by the Duke of Alva unto the Emperor's Majesty, whose Highness used me very honourably. His Majesty, thanks be unto God, hath his health indifferently well. And thus desiring your continual blessing, I commit you to almighty God.

From Brussels, 29th day of May 1555.

Your Ladyship's son at commandment,

(Signed) E. DEVON.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29.

Filza No. 134.

Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoseritti,
Venetian
Archives.

108. The SAME to LORD WENTWORTH, Deputy of Calais.

Thanks for the kindness he had shown him. Asks his help and furtherance for bearer his servant, whom he is sending on business to England.

(Signed) Your loving friend.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[*Original draft.*]

May 29.

Filza No. 134.

Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoseritti,
Venetian
Archives.

109. The SAME to Mr. STORY [Dr. John Storye].

Sends the bearer his servant to England, so "I thought it expedient, among others my very friends, to salute you with these my letters, not allonely for sending my hearty thanks unto you, but for that this shall occasion you to write again unto me, which shall be unto me no little pleasure. And thus, fare you heartily well."

(Signed) Your loving friend.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[*Original draft.*]

1555.

May 29.

Filza No. 134.

Miscellanea

di Atti diversi

Manoscritti,

Venetian

Archives.

110. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Mr. [Dr. Thomas?] MARTEN.

I commend me heartily unto you. As I have been always much beholden unto you, so have I now thought it very expedient, among other my very friends, to visit you with these my letters, rendering you thanks for your friendliness towards me; having hope of such like continuance of the same, as you shall in like manner, by God's grace, receive at my hands if opportunity may serve me. I have delivered your letters unto Alderseys, who hath, together with Mr. Marshe and Mr. Whight, made their gentill offer unto me, according to the content of your letter written in that behalf; unto whom I pray you therefore render your thanks. And thus I bid you most heartily to fare well.

(Signed)

Your loving friend.

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[Original draft.]

May 29.

Filza No. 134.

Miscellanea

di Atti diversi

Manoscritti,

Venetian

Archives.

111. The SAME to Mr. SMITH.

Thinks it requisite, as he is sending his servant the bearer on business to England, "to give you thanks for your friendship always borne towards me, and with these my letters to visit you, as one whom I would be very glad to hear as well of as of any friend I have, and I bid you most heartily to fare well.

(Signed)

"Your loving friend."

Brussels, 29th May 1555.

[Original draft.]*

May 30.

Original

Despatch,

Venetian

Archives.

112. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 25th all the commissioners went, for the third time, to the house of the Cardinal Legate. The French were the first, and represented their claims, which were on the Milanese, and on the kingdoms of Naples and Navarre, demanding the restitution of the former, and that the disputes (*le cause*) about the latter be referred to arbitrators, requiring also the restitution of Hesdin and Terouenne. On their departure the Imperialists went to Cardinal Pole, and having heard from him and the English the French demands, they expatiated at great length, to demonstrate their injustice; claiming, on the other hand, the duchy of Burgundy and Metz, Toul (*Dũ*), and Verdun, which three places belong to the empire, as also the places appertaining to his Imperial Majesty's kinsfolk, confederates, and dependents, namely, the Dukes of Savoy, Lorraine, Mantua, and Genoa, and finishing with the places lost in Flanders during the present war there. The English having acquainted the French with this reply, and the demands of the Imperialists, they requested permission to make the rejoinder in person, without the Legate, in the centre building (*nella casa di mezzo*), saying that it was well to treat those matters face to face and openly.

* The contemporary endorsement on the preceding 11 letters is as follows: "Copies" to Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Walgrave, Mr. Englefeld, Sir John Leighe, My L. Thrasher, Mr. Bassat, My La. Mether, L. Wentworth, Mr. Story, Mr. Marten, and Mr. Smith.

1555.

The English, however, seeing that the Imperialists did not approve of this, and, moreover, as it did not seem fit to them, said that this mode of proceeding would cause irritation instead of encouraging good will; and as the hour for returning to their quarters was approaching, they arranged to meet on the morrow.

Those who write thence agree in saying that all have a great wish to make peace, or adjust matters by a valid truce, and the Regent of Sicily has shown a letter from the Bishop of Arras, in which he says that should the words uttered to him by the French correspond with their deeds, he has great hope that the business will terminate well.

News has been received to-day that the Duke of Brunswick, who visited your Serenity, has sent some captains to the frontiers of Friesland to raise troops, and that the Saxon cavalry recruited in his name are for the most Christian King; so the Emperor caused numerous letters to be written immediately to a variety of places which might have aided these levies, announcing the falsity of the report circulated by the Duke that he purposed serving the King of England.

Brussels, 30th May 1555.

[*Italian.*]

May 31.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

113. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

All the commissioners returned to the lodgings destined them on the 26th, 27th, and 28th, and had long debate. The Imperialists said that the French, not choosing to reply positively about restoring the places held by them, they (the Imperialists) were not commissioned to say anything further, but would hear what else the French chose to allege and report it to the Emperor, who had been injured by the King in several ways, as he it was who broke the peace made with King Francis. These things being related by the English to the French, they replied that they also had nothing more in their commission than to state the demands already made by them, and to acquaint his most Christian Majesty with whatever else the Imperialists chose; adding that they had not said what was just when they accused the King of having excited the war, as the Imperial ambassador at his court had been the cause of it, and that, even if attributable to his most Christian Majesty, the blame rested with the Emperor, who so maltreated and abused the French ambassador resident with him (he being one of the commissioners, by name Mons. de Marillac), that the King was obliged to resent it, as it reflected dishonour on him, and not on the ambassador.

The English, on hearing this exasperating language, having been several times to one side and the other, induced the French to come to some detail, so they said finally that everything would be adjusted by the Emperor's giving the King the Milanese, which alone had been the cause of war, by reason of the King's just claims to it, on all of which they expatiated, adding that at the last peace made at Crespi [on the 17th September 1544] the Emperor consented to its being given to the Duke of Orleans

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and although he died, there was another alive, to whom the fruit might devolve (*se ne ritrova in esser un' altro, nel quale si potria esseguir il frutto*), and that as the Imperialists might reply that the Emperor had no daughter of an age to be married to the Duke, he might give him a daughter of the King of the Romans.

The English communicated these things to the Imperialists, who replied that would the fruit could have been realised (*che haveriano desiderato che si avesse potuto poner ad effetto il frutto*), as the deceased Duke of Orleans was no less an Imperialist than a Frenchman, but that they thought, should the Emperor consent to the marriage of Don Carlos, son of the King of England, to a daughter of the most Christian King, giving him the Milanese, without requiring dower, instead of giving it in dower, as demanded by them, the King of France would have cause to be satisfied, to which bargain no sign of consent was made by the French, who also said that to give the Emperor satisfaction about Lorraine, the King would not take the Duke for his son-in-law, but that he should marry one of the Emperor's subjects in Flanders, to be named by them hereafter. The right reverend Legate exhorted both sides to continue the conferences daily, as he hoped the Almighty would inspire them with the means of adjustment; and then, through his intercession, it was settled that the prisoners of both their Majesties should be enlarged on parole, that they might be visited by their relations and friends.

Brussels, 31st May 1555.

[*Italian*.]

May 31.
Miscellaneous
Letters,
Venetian
Archives.

114. ANNE DE MONTMORENCY, Constable of France, to ANTOINE DE NOAILLES, French Ambassador in England.

On Wednesday we had a long conference, in which so many were the points, and so excessively were they debated and canvassed, although amicably, by both sides, that, it was at length found that neither of the two sovereigns will restore or cede anything to the other, so that to reconcile them, a new proposition must be made (*bisogna far carta nova*). Thereupon Cardinal Pole proposed the expedient of appointing arbitrators to settle our disputes amicably, and in the meanwhile to make some marriage, so as thus to resume friendship. This was not refused, either on our side or on that of the Imperialists, but the Imperialists said that we were first to restore what we had taken this last war, which would be, as it were, to concede the matter in dispute; and we remained thus, leaving the Cardinal Legate and the English commissioners to consider some other good and bland expedient to arrive at pacification. We are to return to-morrow to the conference to hear their proposal, but unless the Imperialists change their tone, we do not see what great result can be expected. The chief complaint urged by us to the Imperialists was about the Milanese, and that without the restitution of that province we could not enter upon any agreement, and that we do not think of giving back anything we possess. They defend themselves by reasons good and bad, and say the Emperor has nothing more to do with it, he having given the Milanese to his

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son the King and to his wife the Queen of England, and that it is their business to defend it.

Ardres, 31st May 1555.

[*Italian ; contemporary translation from the French.*]

May 31.
Miscellaneous
Letters,
Venetian
Archives.

115. FRANÇOIS DE NOAILLES, Prothonotary, to his brother ANTOINE DE NOAILLES, French Ambassador in England.

After the first session of this conference held on the 23rd instant, with great ceremony, the English omitting nothing that became their grandeur, the second took place on the 24th, when both sides made their demands, there being a long debate as to which had been the author of the last war. On the 26th the third session was held; and on the 28th, the fourth; all which were for acquainting my Lord the Legate and the English with the rights and reasons of one side and the other; this form being persevered in thus far, contrary to the wish of the Constable, who merely desired to speak face to face with the Imperialists, without referring himself to the reports of the said English. The fifth session was held on the 29th, when both parties were taken, to speak face to face. To-morrow the first of June they hold the sixth session, at which doubt not this long mystery will come to an end of some sort, either pacific or warlike; and as the Imperialists are firm, and determined not to restore the duchy of Milan, so are we obstinate with regard to not giving back anything to the Emperor or his confederates; so you may rest assured that the King will not make any agreement, save such as will be honourable and glorious for him.

Ardres, 31st May 1555.

[*Italian ; contemporary translation from the French.*]

June 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

116. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Here they attend to nothing but constant prayers and public processions for the most Serene Queen's auspicious delivery, as most earnestly desired by everybody, and principally by the King, who awaits nothing but this result in order to cross the Channel instantly, for, from what I hear, one single hour's delay in this delivery seems to him a thousand years. He has already given full leave to all his attendants (*a tutti gli suoi*) to go in advance, at their pleasure, and wait for him in Flanders, and next week part of his body-guard will follow, which many people interpret as a sign that, should no sort of agreement take place between these Princes, he purposes being present at the war in person; and this sudden departure also shows that he will perhaps return hither this winter.

To-morrow, Whitsunday, the King will appear in public, the mourning apparel of his household, [the lack of] which kept him hitherto secluded, being well nigh completed; and I shall go to Hampton Court to accompany him to chapel as usual on holydays.

They are sending to Spain to urge the embarkation of the infantry for Italy forthwith; and the Colonel Pimentel at length departs, for although he was sent hence three months ago, yet having to return to Brussels, he was unable to despatch his business there until now.

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They are also intent on executing the sentences against the heretics, and two days ago, to the displeasure as usual of the population here, two Londoners were burned alive, one of them having been public lecturer in Scripture, a person sixty years of age, who was held in great esteem.* In a few days the like will be done to four or five more; and thus from time to time to many others who are in prison for this cause, and will not recant, although such sudden severity is odious to many people (*anchora che a molti questa così subita severità sia molesta*).

London, 1st June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

117. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The news of the election to the popedom of Cardinal Caraffa was received here last evening by an express from the Duke of Florence to his ambassador, who took it immediately to the Emperor, and according to the conversation of the courtiers it has not proved agreeable, both because well nigh all the Pope's relatives have been considered ill disposed towards the Emperor by reason of the affairs of the kingdom of Naples, and also on account of his Majesty's having been so opposed to him with regard to his archbishopric of that city.† The Pope has, moreover, for a long while evinced partiality towards the French crown, and his temper (*qualità di spirito*) likewise is considered at variance with the character (*genio*) of the Emperor, who, however, will have many means of benefiting his Holiness's relations, and thus have him favourable or not hostile.

Don Diego de Azevedo, one of the chamberlains of the King of England, arrived here last evening, for the purpose of condoling with the Emperor on the death of his mother, though others say it is to represent to him the position of King Philip and Queen Mary, and to receive his orders when the result of the delivery shall be manifest.

Brussels, 1st June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

118. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 29th ulto. the negotiations for the peace were on the eve of dissolution, owing to the firm resolve of the French commissioners relative to the Milanese, and the Constable and his colleagues would positively have departed, had not Cardinal Pole and the English, by their prayers, compelled the Cardinal of Lorraine to remain, and to make the others do the like, in order that they might reconsider matters.

The Emperor having received letters about this from his commis-

* Cardmaker, Prebendary of Wells, and an upholsterer named Warne, suffered at Smithfield on the 30th May 1555. (See Froude, vol. 6, pp. 352, 353, ed. 1860.)

† Cardinal Caraffa was translated from the Archbishopric of Chieti to that of Naples in the year 1549, but owing to the opposition of Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, did not obtain possession of it until September 1551. (See Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 166, 167.)

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sioners, sent immediately for Queen Maria, who had gone to an abbacy two leagues hence to pass these Easter holidays; and after consulting with her and Mons. de Praet, about fresh instructions to be given to his commissioners, he sent them an order to propose to refer all the disputes between him and the most Christian King to a Council, which both parties are to urge the Pope to hold as soon as possible; saying that as to the Milanese, should it be decided that it belongs by right to the King of France, he the Emperor is content that the Duke of Orleans do take to wife a daughter of the King of the Romans, giving her in the Milanese such dower as shall seem suitable, their children to be the legitimate heirs of that duchy; but should the decision be in favour of the Emperor, the Milanese is then to belong to the son of the King of England [Don Carlos], with the condition that he marry the eldest daughter of the King of France, giving her the same dower, and the Milanese in like manner descending to their children.

Brussels, 2nd June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 2.

119. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. cl. x.,
without date, as
printed in vol. v.,
pp. 11-13,
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi
Poli," &c.

On Whitsunday,* the day of the celebration of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, heard that by the inspiration of that same Spirit his Holiness had been elected by the Sacred College of Cardinals, and placed on the throne (*in sedem*) of the Prince of the Apostles, this having been done on the day set apart for the commemoration of Christ's ascension to heaven. From these two festivals, takes occasion to congratulate the Pope, and exhorts him to persevere in his constant efforts for the reform of the Church. Awaits the Pope's commands after hearing the instructions received by him from Popes Julius and Marcello. Would fain give the Pope good news about the peace; but alas! the more they advance, the more does he doubt of success.

Calais? 2nd June 1555.

[*Latin, 43 lines.*]

June 3.

120. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

Concerning the new election of the Pope, the King said to me with a very joyful countenance that he considered it an excellent election by reason of the good qualities of his Holiness, and that it also gave him personal satisfaction, he having been as it were created by the Cardinals, his Majesty's dependents; and he narrated to me copiously the mode of this creation, laying stress on two things, the one, the danger incurred of schism, which, had it taken place, nothing, he said, could have caused him greater regret; the other, that the Imperialists had done very wrong to hold the Pope in such small account, as his Majesty knew that an autograph note from the Imperial ambassador at Rome to a cardinal, his confident

* In the year 1555 the 2nd of June was Whitsunday, and I date this letter accordingly.

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in conclave, had fallen into the Pope's hands, telling him that by no means were the Imperialists to consent to the election of his Holiness, many of whose dependents being outlawed from Naples, it was not a thorn to keep in their feet, and should they be unable to do otherwise, they were to consent rather to Ferrara, or to any other French cardinal whatever.

Concerning the conference, the King told me he really knew not what to hope with regard to the result, as the Constable had stated his Majesty's case so equitably that the Imperialists knew not how to reply, save in general terms (*se non con parole che non stringevano*); and his Majesty then added, "Ambassador! although I ought perhaps to be silent about what I am going to say to you, yet will I tell you that the Bishop of Arras produced a writing containing four articles which the Constable confuted to his face, proving them to be false, so the Bishop apologized and changed his purpose" (*et mutò il suo proposito*). Endeavoured to converse with his Majesty and ascertain what these articles were, but could elicit nothing further, but asked him what news was brought by Mons. de Lansac, who arrived yesterday from the Constable; and he answered me that Cardinal Pole had sent to request his Excellency and the Cardinal of Lorraine to send a personage in their name to Calais, on the 1st of this month, as the Imperialists would do the like, because it having been impossible hitherto to devise any adjustment, his right reverend Lordship would try what he could effect with these two individuals, proposing a truce or something else, or perhaps some marriage. His Majesty added, "Rest assured, ambassador, that there is no other matter of importance beyond what I have told you, save that my ministers determined to send the Bishop of Orleans to the Cardinal, and the Imperialists another, whose name I do not remember," but that as yet he had no advice whatever of what had been done.

Melun, 3rd June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

121. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the transmission by the Emperor to his commissioners of the orders mentioned in my letter of the 2nd, the French and the others met thrice to discuss the proposals, and their reply was that they would not accept the terms offered, which forthwith deprived the King of what he had gained, and rendered his just claims doubtful for a long period; the commissioners holding that if the Duke of Savoy required anything of the King, his own commissioner was to speak, as his most Christian Majesty would not fail to act becomingly; saying that by no agreement which might ensue with the Duke should the Emperor keep any fortress; and respecting the Marquisate of Montferrat and Corsica, the King would gratify the Duke and the Genoese when they pleased (*quando li paresse*). The commissioners repeated their first demand, that unless they had the Milanese on the terms written by me, this peace would not be concluded; and saying they had no further commission, they were again on the point of departure, had not the Legate and the English com-

June 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

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missioners persuaded them to send the Emperor's proposals to the King and await the reply, which they consented to do for eight days. Lord Paget's son and son-in-law,* who came hither to see the court, say that he and the other English commissioners have no hope of peace, so they were preparing for departure, and thinking how they could take leave of the Imperialists and the French to the satisfaction of both parties.

The Emperor, on receiving these advices from his commissioners, sent Don Ernando della Noia to them with orders to protract the negotiation as long as possible.

Lord Paget's son said also that a commissioner had arrived at Calais from the Queen of Scotland, to consent to whatever the French wish.†

Don Diego de Azevedo, who came from the King of England to condole with the Emperor, departed post-wise last night to the surprise of everybody, as for this morning he had invited the English ambassador and others to dinner. It is said that he is the bearer of instructions for King Philip about the mode to be observed by him and the Queen, having the certainty that the pregnancy (*il parto*) be not true, in removing the popular opinion on the subject, by issuing an order in Council for the bishops to have it announced in their parishes, to prevent any commotion should it become manifest that she was not pregnant, without any previous announcement of the fact, and also to tell him the time of the King's passage, which is expected to take place shortly.

It continues to be said that the King of the Romans will come, and that their Majesties will discuss together the adjustment both of their family affairs and those of the empire, but from what I have heard, as the King of England is childless, the Emperor purposes marrying the Queen's sister [Elizabeth] to the Archduke Ferdinand.

Brussels, 4th June 1555.

[Italian.]

June 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

122. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sent his secretary to the Duke de Guise concerning what the King promised to let him know about the negotiation of the Bishop of Orleans, who was sent to Cardinal Pole, and he brought back word that the Bishop of Winchester endeavoured to prove by many arguments to the Bishop of Orleans that the most Christian King ought to assent to the stipulation of the peace, and received for answer that his most Christian Majesty was as well inclined towards it as could possibly be wished.

Melun, 5th June 1555.

[Italian.]

June 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

123. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The French commissioners received the [counter] proposal from the King to the proposal made by the Imperial commissioners,

* Lord Paget had four sons and six daughters. See Collins, vol. 5, p. 185.

† Per acconsentire quello che Francesi vorranno.

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which was that they were to treat solely to have the Milanese, and that should the Emperor choose to speak about the affairs of the confederates they were to demand, as they did, the restitution of Navarre (which is held by the Emperor) to the Queen [Jeanne d'Albret] and Monsr. de Vendôme. To this the Bishop of Arras replied that by following this course the King showed clearly he was not disposed to make peace, reviving quarrels of 30 years standing. The Constable answered him that the older injuries are, the more was it necessary to revenge them. So the English commissioners, seeing them about to dissolve the conference for the third time, requested both sides to adjourn until the 7th or 8th instant, which they all consented to do, at the suit, it is supposed, of the Imperialists, they expecting some fresh commission from the Emperor which may have been sent by Don Diego de Azevedo. Should it not have been given, it is considered certain that they will depart without any adjustment, the failure of which the Imperialists attribute to the King, both because it seems to him that the present Pope may favour his affairs in Italy, as also because he does not choose by the peace to disavour the league formed a few months ago in Saxony by the 17 Princes of Germany, who would be compelled to go or send to the Diet at Augsburg to treat measures to which they will not consent, they having indeed threatened to oppose them by force of arms. It is moreover said that the Imperialists know the King has promised Sultan Soliman to make neither peace nor truce during the present year.

A gentleman from the Queen of England has arrived, having been sent to the Emperor to condole with him on the death of the Queen his mother, and having demanded audience, his Majesty sent to tell him he was welcome, desiring the ambassador likewise to come with him. Thereupon Sir John Masone sent his secretary to ascertain from the Chief Chamberlain, Monsr. de la Chaux (Monsr. della Scia) whether it would displease the Emperor if he went in his ordinary habits, as neither the Queen nor the Council of England having gone into mourning, it seemed to him that this was not his business, but that on the other hand he did not wish to be disagreeable to his Majesty. Monsr. de la Chaux would not decide, but told the secretary to return, and it is evident that he asked the Emperor what he was to tell the ambassador, to whom he subsequently gave it to be understood that for the present he was to appear in a cloak (*con un mantello*), and thus did he. After performing the office of ceremony, the gentleman said in the first place that on his leaving England the physicians (*li medici*) affirmed that the Queen would be brought to bed (*parturiria*), but that they had deceived themselves by one month, the ambassador saying that he had letters of the same tenor; but from the Englishmen who accompanied the gentleman it has been understood that two of the Queen's bedchamber women (*che due donne che stanno presso la Regina*) have been heard to say that she has not yet given any sign of being in such a state of pregnancy as to bring forth speedily.

A gentleman from the Duke of Cleves came subsequently to perform the like office of condolence with the Emperor.

The ambassador from Florence, having asked several times to

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speak in person to the Emperor, being commissioned thus to do by his master, was answered that his Majesty will give it him when he can; and the secretary Vargas warned him not to appear without a cloak, so thenceforth he has never left it off and wears it daily; the persons of the court doing the like, they having received the cloth required for making them. In the cathedral preparation is being made slowly for the obsequies, the cause of the delay being that they expect the King of England shortly, the Emperor also wishing to wait for the King of the Romans. Neither the Nuncio nor the other ambassadors in ordinary having been to condole with the Emperor, it did not seem to me necessary to perform this office, thinking that your Serenity, according to your custom, should be the person to give me the order. Martin Van Rossem (Martin Vairo),* general of the troops sent to give support for the building of the fortress, is dangerously ill, his indisposition being caused by over fatigue in superintending it, and by several times ascending the adjoining height which they are fortifying.

At Antwerp they are negotiating a loan of 300,000 crowns for the table of the King of England (*sopra il piatto del Re d'Inghilterra*) [to be secured] on the revenues derived by him from Spain, the rate of interest exceeding 25 per cent., which was what they paid on the last loan; and the merchants say that, if effected, the revenues will be pledged until the year 1557.

Lord Courtenay has been to visit me, accompanied by the English Ambassador, and told me he was soon to depart for Italy, with the intention of residing some time at Venice, and I performed such office of goodwill and esteem with him as seemed to me becoming. From many indications I comprehend *that he is in great fear for his life, and thinks of nothing but preserving it, without evincing suspicion of the Emperor, who, however, at his audience received him lovingly* (sta molto dubioso della vita sua, et che non pensa ad altro che ad assicurarla senza far sospetto di temer dell' Imperatore, dal qual gli è però stato fatto dimonstratione di amore nella audientia che hebbe).

Brussels, 6th June 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

124. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Transmits advices coming from a great personage and of authority, indeed the chief representative of one of the parties at the Congress. These advices were transcribed and translated from the original letters addressed by the Constable to the French Ambassador. I have not omitted the transcription of the whole of the ciphered part likewise, noting the identical characters, which, should they perchance be understood by your Serenity's officials of this profession, *you will, doubtless, through this correspondence on the part of the*

* Martin Van Rossem, Marshal of Gueldres. (See Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index.)

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French, discover their whole intention and secret, and be able sooner than anyone else to judge what may be hoped from this conference (far giudittio di quello sia da sperar dal presente coloquio).*

According to the intention announced by me I came to the Court, and when with the King yesterday I condoled with him on the death of his grandmother, thanking him also for his intercession with the Emperor in favour of the Magnifico Spathafora, and I communicated to him the last summaries from Constantinople; with all which offices he seemed pleased, and thanked me very graciously for my condolence. Some days before his Majesty had been troubled with pains supposed to proceed from cholic, so by the advice of his physicians he did not appear in public, but remained in retirement, notwithstanding which I found him looking very well (*con bonissima ciera*). Whilst accompanying him from his apartment to the chapel, he with his usual affability discoursed with me the whole way, and speaking about the conference he said that down to Saturday the 1st instant, the date of his last advices, there was but little hope of a good result; and he gave me news of the election as Pope of the Cardinal of Naples,† which at that very moment had been announced to him by way of Brussels, nor from the expression of his countenance did it seem to me that he evinced much pleasure at this, as was more fully confirmed to me afterwards by these Spanish Lords (*da questi Signori Spagnuoli*), who by no means approve of this election.

I found and saw (*ho trovata et veduta*) the most Serene Queen looking very well, for placing herself every morning at a small window, she chooses to see the procession pass, and which at her Majesty's request goes round the palace court [at Hampton Court], she most courteously bowing her head in acknowledgment to all the personages, who salute her whilst following the procession, as she did twice with extraordinary cheerfulness and graciousness to the Portuguese ambassador and myself, we having gone into the court to accompany the King to mass, and joined the procession on invitation from the Lords of the Council.

Her Majesty expects and hopes during this week to comfort the realm by an auspicious delivery, but the greater part of her women (*donne*) [bedchamber women] think she will go beyond (*si condurrà più innanzi*).

Richmond, 6th June 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

125. MATHIO DI PRIULI, son of the Procurator Antonio, to, enclosed in the despatch of Giovanni Michiel, dated 11th June 1555.‡

No great change has take place since the 31st ult., the Commissioners (*questi Signori*) having only met once, on the 1st instant,

* These advices have not been found.

† Giovanni Pietro Caraffa was elected Pope on the 23rd May 1555.

‡ This letter is without any address, but was probably written to Monsignor Luigi Priuli, who perhaps remained in England whilst Cardinal Pole was at the conference.

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as his correspondent heard, and although immediately when they arrived on the spot at noon, they withdrew to confer alone with the mediators in the centre hall (*nella sala di mezzo*), where they remained for three hours, they are nevertheless not understood to have discussed anything which could give hope of adjustment (*di conclusione*), having on the contrary maintained their first demands, nor would they modify them save by silence. The mediators, after trying divers means, and proposing several agreements, being unable to devise anything to the satisfaction of all the parties, determined to tell them that as their disputes about these states (*di questi stati*) prevented any adjustment, they should see if it suited them to refer their differences to persons deemed fit to decide them, or else remit them to a council general; and concerning this affair of the council, as it was his idea, the Lord Chancellor [Stephen Gardiner] very hotly urged them to it (*si scaldò assai in persuaderli*), they neither accepting nor refusing, but giving them hopes rather than otherwise, saying they would write to their Princes, and arrange to meet again on the 7th instant, to put an end to this business; and tomorrow being the day appointed for the last conference, I do not find that during this interval anything has been treated which can give the slightest hope of adjustment (*conclusione*), but that they will depart in greater confusion than before, and they will perhaps have additionally irritated both sides.

Calais, 6th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

126. MATHIO DI PRIULI, son of the Procurator Antonio, to enclosed in the despatch of Giovanni Michiel, dated 11th June 1555.

Wrote yesterday that the Commissioners were to hold their last conference to-day, and it came to pass, for they departed this moment, 6 p.m., having taken leave of each other on the spot, without any adjustment (*conclusione*) either for peace or truce, although they remained five hours together, and during part of the conversation it even seemed (*pur paresse*) that they would come to terms, but at the close the conference was broken off with little concord (*con poca concordia*); so all will return, as the saying is, "with empty pockets" (*con le trombe in sacco*). Hopes in a few days, accompanied by Cardinal Pole, again to see his Magnificence, and discuss with him the whole of this affair at length, which can be done more easily, orally, than by letter.

Calais, 7th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

127. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Lord Paget writes to the English ambassador that the ships sent for by the Commissioners had arrived at Calais, and they were to return to England on the 9th or 10th, unless in the meanwhile the Imperial Commissioners receive some fresh order to treat with the French, whose final decision was, that in order to form a good friendship with the Emperor, the King was willing to give his eldest

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daughter to [Don Carlos], the son of the King of England, and give her a dower of from three to four hundred thousand crowns in the Milanese, but that the duchy was to remain to the Duke of Orleans. High words have passed between some of the attendants of the English and French Commissioners, the English having said that the King of France got back Boulogne by foul means (*con mali modi*), and then failed to perform his promises in full.* There has also been a great quarrel between the Governor of Calais and the Lord Chancellor of England, the latter having run very great risk of personal injury (*offese di fatti*), in consequence of the authority he sought to exercise by judging one of the Governor's gentlemen in the matter of religion.

The Emperor gave orders for refreshments to be sent to Lord Paget's son and son-in-law, and as they had not asked to kiss hands, his Majesty gave them to understand, through Mons. de la Chaux and Secretary Vargas (who as of their own accord, but by commission from the Emperor, presented them), that he wished to see them before their departure, as he did, showing them many marks of good will out of regard for Lord Paget.

By the English, and others of the court, it has been remarked that the Imperial ministers have made no such demonstrations towards Lord Courtenay, who is infinitely the superior of the Pagets, and departed with only two servants, giving out that he was going as far as Louvain for his pleasure, and as the period assigned by his attendants for his return has expired, it is inferred that he will never come back.

Brussels, 8th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

128. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By advices now received from Calais in date of the 7th, the French Commissioners went to Cardinal Pole and the English, telling them they had received a fresh commission from the King not to waste more time in negotiations which could not produce the result for which they had been sent; so, seeing the impossibility of obtaining fair terms from the Imperialists, they had determined to depart immediately, and requested the Legate and his countrymen to give them leave [to depart] as readily as they had invited them to attend this conference. Having received an equally courteous rejoinder, they dismissed themselves, the Constable saying, in the act of departure, that perhaps on some future occasion the Almighty would inspire those who had now failed to make the peace. The Imperialists forthwith performed the like office, which was in like manner reciprocated by the English, who embarked to cross the Channel, but were detained by a storm which arose on that day, and will depart with the first fair wind. The Bishop of Arras

* Et che mancasse poi di far la compiuta satisfattione delle promesse.

† Il Governor di Calais. The Lord Deputy at Calais was Thomas, second Lord Wentworth, and his good will for the refugees in France is alluded to in the index to the late Mr. Turbull's Calendar.

1555.

writes that he will come to-morrow postwise, and the other commissioners by day journeys [with their own horses] (*à giornata*). I have heard that the last proposal made by the French was that the King would consent to have the dispute about the Milanese settled by the council, but that in the meanwhile he would not make restitution of anything, and that in order that both their Majesties might live pacifically, he would give his eldest daughter, with a considerable dower, the Emperor giving security for it out of his own territories, to the Infant of Spain [Don Carlos]; and that if the Duke of Savoy would go to France to make himself known, as customary when a man wishes to marry, and if his Majesty's sister like his Excellency's qualities, he may then rely on being gratified with such part of his territory as he can reasonably desire (*potrà poi esser sicura di esser gratificata di quella parte di stato che ragionevolmente potesse desiderar*).

The Imperialists told the English that it being neither just nor for the dignity of the Emperor that he should make peace without the restitution of what belonged to his confederates, they would not accept these offers. The result of this negotiation is much regretted here. Some say that in September they will treat again, and, from what has been said by Mons. de Praet, conclude either peace or truce.

Brussels, 9th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

129. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day news arrived that on the 7th the Commissioners met as agreed, and the Imperialists gave the French the reply received by them from the Emperor, purporting that he does not intend to stipulate any agreement, unless restitution be made of all that has been taken on both sides (*dall' una et l'altra parte*) from the beginning of this war until the present time; to which the Constable answered immediately, that his most Christian Majesty would not make restitution of anything. Both sides then took leave of each other, the conference being dissolved without any decision, and to-day they were to leave Ardres, on their way to the court. This intelligence was received to-day at 4 p.m., and the Lieutenant of the Marquis Albert, who is now at the Court, was despatched immediately with 150,000 crowns for a levy of German troops, an order being sent to raise 15,000 Switzers, after which the most Christian King went out hunting. So far as can be known, the reason why the Imperialists took time was to avail themselves of the opportunity for advancing under Marienburg, but it is well garrisoned (*ben munito*).

Melun, 9th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

130. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the resolve formed by all the commissioners to depart, as mentioned by me yesterday, no other letters have arrived, either

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from Gravelines or Calais. These personages of the court say that the Imperial commissioners return not quite satisfied with the last office performed by the English with the French, to whom, besides the other terms, they added that the Emperor was also content to give the most Christian King the county of Burgundy, and Hesdin, and Terouenne, demanding Marienburg and the six towns in Luxemburg taken heretofore by the French, not because the Emperor would thus obtain an equivalent, but in order to render the terms more advantageous and convenient for the King throughout, so as yet more to facilitate the agreement; but in representing this offer, which was the last one conveyed by Don Diego de Azevedo, the Imperialists accuse the English of not having taken the matter to heart (*che non pigliassero tal negotio a cuore*), as otherwise the commissioners would, at least, not have separated so suddenly, though in all the rest of the business they praise the English greatly.

Lottino, late secretary of the Duke of Florence, who was sent by Cardinal Sta. Fiore, and at the request of Don Juan Metich (*sic*), to tell the Emperor by word of mouth who the Cardinals were who failed to do his Imperial Majesty's bidding (*volontà*) in electing the Pope, had audience immediately, it being said that he gave a bad account of eight, and principally of San Giacomo, Morone, and Augsburg;* and he also acquainted the Emperor with sundry means whereby to gain the good will of his Holiness. The Pope has sent the usual brief to the Nuncio, for the performance of the customary office of congratulation with his Majesty, who answered most lovingly, and at great length, saying, amongst other particulars, that he remembered his features (*la sua effigie*), although 40 years had passed since he saw him in these provinces, at the time when they were ruled by his Majesty's aunt, the Lady Margaret,† and that he also remembered his Holiness having sung mass on a festival, celebrating it as well as the life always led by him, which he hoped would be the like during the present Pontificate. On the Nuncio's taking leave, the Emperor said to him, that although he had written to the Pope in recommendation of the Elector of Mentz, in order that he might be pleased to grant him the annats, his territory having been ravaged by the Marquis of Brandenburg, yet did he nevertheless request the Nuncio also to perform the like good office.

Brussels, 10th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 10.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

131. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the COUNCIL of TEN.‡

Most Excellent Lords,

Don Gutierrez Lopez de Padilla, one of King Philip's chamberlains and councillors for the affairs of state and war,

* Namely, Giovanni Alvarez de Toledo, Giovanni Morone, and Otho Truchses.

† Namely, at the commencement of the year 1514. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. 2, p. 158. Entry 372. Date 6th February 1514.)

‡ This letter was discovered by Signor Luigi Pasini amongst the miscellaneous papers of the Chiefs of the Ten (17th March 1869), and is now bound up with the other letters addressed by Michiel to the Doge and Senate.

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being beside me in chapel at mass on Whitsunday, commenced discussing current events, especially those of Italy, and made me a long discourse about the great importance at the present moment of electing a Pope well and sincerely disposed (*che fusse buono et sincero*), and above all, that he should be neutral, as should he perchance, as was to be feared, incline towards the French, and favour them rather than the Imperialists, it would not only cause additional embarrassment to King Philip, but might kindle such a flame in Italy as would be difficult to extinguish, and put the whole province to confusion, including its other potentates, especially the Republic of Venice. He added that there would be less to fear from such a catastrophe were King Philip in the same position as the King of France, whose forces and territories being united, he can very easily provide for defence or attack without quitting his own kingdom, availing himself of all his troops and moving them from one place to another, according to circumstances, without much danger and with no inconvenience, either from having to cross the sea, or to traverse foreign territories in order to supply them with reinforcements or money, or whatever else may be required; whereas King Philip, on the contrary, having his dominions so far asunder, and disjointed and remote, besides the extraordinary cost required for their maintenance, cannot avail himself of the resources and forces of one realm to succour the other, without fresh cost, peril, and delay.

Don Gutierre then said, that matters being in this state, as France from these causes had made such advance and proceeded so far into Italy, King Philip, perceiving his own difficulties and disadvantages, was compelled to form other resolves, and entertain other ideas than he has done hitherto; and then Don Gutierre unbosomed himself openly, and said to me, "Ambassador! the remedy is, that we must form a defensive league together for the affairs of Italy, and in order not only to comfort but to give confidence to that whole province, whose detriment and ruin concern him, his Majesty will determine to create an individual Duke of Milan (*un particolare Duca di Milano*), that he may live and reside in the Milanese, availing himself of its forces, of the Signory's, and of those of friends, against all assailants, but on condition that both he and you and we do our utmost to replace the poor Duke of Savoy in his duchy; acting in such wise, that after he shall have been compensated for the spoliation they inflicted on him, the French may thenceforth remain on this side the Alps in their own home, as we, all of us, in ours."

After this he returned to his first remark about the power, the insolence, and the audacity of the French, laying before me the great danger of the Republic, should they, through their friendship with the Turks, advance yet farther, reminding me of the many losses suffered heretofore through the said French, and the great danger in which the Republic was of losing its whole territory, he having been present at all the wars of that period; and he added so many other things on that subject, that to narrate them would be too long and tiresome. Seeing that he was burning (in fervore), I let him gratify himself, listening attentively without any interruption,

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and then replied briefly, as the time and the place where we were permitted, thanking him in the first place for his confidential communication, and then saying that as to the matters mentioned by him I knew not what answer to give, until he explained to me first of all whether he spoke of his own accord, or by commission from others, in order that I might transmit it elsewhere; and when acquainted with his motive, I would make such answer as might seem to me suited to the proposal. To this he did not reply to the point, saying evasively, "Enough! I believe thou hast understood me; it assuredly concerns us all, and at any rate a resolve of this sort must be made for the common weal and remedy (*per la salute et rimedio commune*); and another time I will let thee know in what danger the Republic's affairs would find themselves should ours go wrong;" and as the mass was already at the end, he had to go to his place, so we could no longer remain together.

I have given your Excellencies a detailed narrative of this conversation, as it has seemed to me on many accounts important and worthy of your notice, coming from a person not only in his Majesty's confidence, but intimate with him, for if of no other use, it will at least enable you to discover many things showing the power of King Philip and his need, as also his intention and aim; and should your Excellencies think fit (which be it said without presumption) to give me any hint about your will and intention, so that in case of being spoken to again, I may, being acquainted with your pleasure, entirely break off any design or proposal, thus preventing the occasion for their going to Venice to trouble you; or else by entering into the business, allow them to proceed farther and discover some additional particulars, leaving it, as I say, to your Excellencies' sage judgment to decide about giving me some hint (*qualche lume*); and in the meanwhile, if spoken to again more positively (*con più fondamento*), I shall merely make a general reply.

Richmond, 10th June 1555.

Endorsed:—3 July 1555. England. Read in the Council of Ten and Junta. A long discourse about making a Duke of Milan.

[Italian, in cipher throughout, deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

132. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The result of the conference, although foreseen and expected by the majority, has disappointed some persons, amongst whom is Cardinal Pole, they having hoped that, if peace was impossible, a suspension of hostilities might at least have ensued. At this Court (in questa Corte) it has proved the more vexatious, as everybody, especially King Philip (questa Maestà), was in favour of the adjustment, he having throughout this negotiation sustained the office (*sostenuto lo officio*) of mediator rather than of principal; so the termination not being such as he wished and expected, his reputation seems somewhat affected by it, he having exerted himself to that end, and the enemy not appearing to have due esteem for him; perhaps, because it having been understood that he is

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disinclined towards war, and considering him unfitted for it, they expect to obtain greater advantage for the future than they have done hitherto (forse perchè si sia dato ad intendere, chè non havendo ella inclinazione, nè parendoli che sia atta alla guerra, sia per haver più vantaggio che non ha havuto per il passato). This regret (dispiacere) is dissembled as much as possible by everybody, if but for the sake of not increasing the audacity and insolence of these English, whose internal delight at seeing the affairs of this faction (di questa fazione) in trouble and peril, and those of the enemy, on the contrary, prospering and in repute, is not to be told. But with regard to matters in general, so far as can be judged, this government will keep aloof and look on, at least until they see the end of this delivery, which now cannot long be delayed; and then, according to its result, fresh resolves may be anticipated, as possibly King Philip will not live in this realm so much like an alien as he does. He has hitherto not only abstained from interfering (adoperarsi), and commanding as master, but would scarcely hear about anything at all, leaving this care to Queen Mary and her Council, and referring himself to them; nor has he as yet availed himself of one penny of the national revenue (delle entrate di quello, the word regno being understood), but supplied it considerably from his own resources through the money with which he accommodated the Queen last year (ma havendosi messo del suo grossamente con li danari che lo anno passato ne accomodò la serenissima regina), and for any necessary costs, however small, he still spends the money with which he is provided from elsewhere. On this account his Majesty's treasurers are yet across the Channel intent on raising money, which they find very scarce and hard to be got, having hitherto obtained but a small sum, part of which is sent hither from time to time for the daily expenses of the court, where for many weeks there has not been a penny in circulation, and they are obliged to live on credit, with much lamentation from the creditors, and, what is worse, greatly to the inconvenience and detriment of these poor courtiers, who in truth have a very bad time of it (li quali in vero la fanno molto male), both by reason of the intolerable scarcity of everything, which has doubled in price owing to them, as also because there is no one who, either with money or credit, will succour and assist them in their need; so it may be well said that they have come hither to do penance for their sins.

The Queen's sister, the Lady Elizabeth, although she does not appear in public out of her own apartment, has been allowed free admission for her attendants (*li servitori suoi*) and for some other gentlemen here at the court, but with the exception of her own [attendants] they all avail themselves of it with great reserve (*con molto rispetto*).

After going out of London, determined to remain [at Richmond] near the court, for the purpose of being more frequently with the King and the other personages of the palace, both Spaniards and English, thinking thus to learn more about passing events than by remaining at a distance, regardless of personal inconvenience and that of his household, owing to the exorbitant cost, of everything,

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and the very narrow lodgings (*et li alloggiamenti strettissimi*), as also from being compelled to incur the expense of two houses (one in London and the other at Richmond), which exceeds his means; but for the service and honour of the Signory will bear it as patiently as he can.

London (*sic*) [Richmond?], 11th June 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 12.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
vol. lxx. p. 125,
tergo.

133. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CONSTANTINOPLE.

In their last, announced the death of Pope Marcellus the Second, in lieu of whom the Cardinal of Chieti, a Neapolitan of the Caraffa family, has been elected and crowned Pope, being named Paul the Fourth.

Since their last advices, the Imperial and French commissioners, having gone to the borders of Flanders, assembled in a plain between Ardres and Gravelines, where, on the 25th ulto., they commenced the conference, there being present Cardinal Pole, who was sent by the King and Queen of England. Notwithstanding this, the Emperor and the most Christian King continue mustering their forces, and adding to them, both in Piedmont and towards the borders of Flanders and Picardy.

The "Bailo" is to communicate these advices as usual.

Ayes, 176. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

June 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

134. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day the prothonotary, brother of the French ambassador in England, will go thither on a mission from his most Christian Majesty to thank the Queen and Cardinal Pole for their goodwill about this negotiation for peace, and for the excellent choice made by her Majesty in the persons of her representatives.

Melun, June 13th, 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 13.
Filza No. 134.
Miscellanea
Manoscritti di
Atti diversi,
Venetian
Archives.

135. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

My very good Lord,—My bounden duty most humbly remembered, I have received your Lordship's letters by this bearer, your trusty and diligent servant Prune,* with further credit by mouth which he declared unto me in your Lordship's behalf, according whereunto I moved the Queen's Highness myself, and caused the King's Majesty to be moved by Don Ruy Gomez, your very friend, touching your repair to the baynes of Liège, or Aquisgranda [Spa?], for the recovery of your health, and also to understand their pleasure for your

* Walter Prune. (See Domestic Calendar, Mary, p. 18.)

1555.

repair to see the Emperor's camp, and to see the towns in those parts, whereof I received answer, first, of the King, by the mouth of Ruy Gomez. and yesterday, being Corpus Christi day, of Her Highness, who also conferred with the King thereupon, to this effect: that your Lordship making Brussels the place of your abode, you might, with the good contentations, either repair to the one for your necessity, or to the others for your commodity and experience, so that when you have done you do from time to time return to the Emperor's court as the place of your residence. Ruy Gomez showed me that the King meant you should be there to serve the Emperor without any restraint in the world, but as they are; and when you have safty [safe conduct] to repair to any place, asking the Emperor's pleasure, as all others do, and as it is meet, his good contentation being known, you might as you would go into any place of those parts at your pleasure. Me bethought (?) I perceived by her Highness, who uttered the same by way of advice, as one that hath great consideration of you, that she thought it better for divers respects you went not to the baynes unless your necessity and disease were such as you could not be otherwise holpen than to go; and also in your repair to other places you should use the same with such temperance and discretion as you might, as much could be (*sic*) occasions of suspicion, not that she or the King had any "one sete" themselves in you, but that you should for the stopping of the mouths of others do what in you lieth to avoid all occasions. I assure you I perceive her Highness rejoiceth, and is very glad to hear of your good and so wise using of yourself, and desireth the continuance thereof; and I protest unto your Lordship, even from the very bottom of my heart, by that faith I bear to God and unto the world, that there is much cause your Lordship should comfort, and fully and most assuredly repose yourself in the special goodness which I perceive both their Majesties meaneth unto you, as your Lordship yourself or your Lordship's friends could reasonably wish or desire, and peradventure more than you do. . . . I have more at length declared my mind to this bearer, whom I know your Lordship doth, as you well may, trust, as well in this as also in other things, beseeching your Lordship to take in good part my plain and faithful meaning towards you; and although I have not attempted that which you were most desirous of, I trust, when you shall understand the causes why I did not, I hope you will not only content and satisfy yourself . . . but allow my not doing thereof, and think I did it upon very good consideration.

I received your Lordship's letters of the 6th of this instant, by Sir George Howard, which, as they were very comfortable unto me to hear from you, so they grieved me not a little to perceive by them, that my letters which I wrote so long ago were not as then come to your hands, whereby you justly might suppose a greater slackness of my duty towards you than there was cause. I cannot think but by this time they arrived unto you, and then they will be my just excuse, and therefore the more surely I have fully instructed this bearer, as well touching the effect of them, as also in all other things necessary for your Lordship to be informed of; to whose declaration

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referring myself, I will commit your good Lordship to the blessed tuition of Almighty God.

In haste this, the 13th (*sic*) of June 1555.

Your Lordship's most assuredly at commandment.

(Signed) JAMES BASSET.

[*Addressed without:*] "To my very good lord the Earl of Devonshire."

[*Contemporary endorsement:*] "14 June 1555, from Mr. Basset."

[*And again:*] "Mr. Bassat, 14 June 1555. England to Brussels."

June 15.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.,

without date.

Printed in vol. v.

pp. 13, 14,

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli,"

etc., date Calais.

136. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

Has received two briefs, one for himself, with orders to present the other to King Philip and Queen Mary. The contents of this brief containing the usual protestations of paternal love, had already been announced by Pole, and concerning the peace, for which the Pope urges their Majesties earnestly to exert themselves, Pole must say that although he crossed the Channel with the best intentions, and that he and the Queen's commissioners negotiated for many days with those appointed by the Emperor and the King of France, they could come to no conclusion. Although the Imperial and French negotiators announced the best disposition on the part of their sovereigns, and indeed they spoke of a marriage, as an additional pledge of peace, yet when they came to treat about the restitution of what had been taken in war, they demurred somewhat (*aliquandiu hæsimus*), both parties arguing that such acquisitions were their lawful property (*ad se jure ipso pertinere utrique contendebant*). The messenger about to be despatched by Pole to the Pope will tell him all that was said and proposed; and in the meanwhile he informs his Holiness that on the dissolution of the conference, both the commissioners [Imperial and French] conferred with him separately, speaking in such a way as if the hope of peace had not yet been set aside; so they departed, not without hope, *sed infectâ re*. Is now returning to England, where he will await the Pope's orders.

Calais, 15th June 1555? *

[*Latin, 31 lines.*]

June 17.

Filza, No. 134,

Miscellanea di

Atti diversi,

Manoscritti,

Venetian

Archives.

137. MR. [DR. JOHN] STORYE to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

My most humble commendation to your Honour premised, with like thanks that it pleased your Lordship to address your honourable letters to so poor a man as I am, nevertheless your daily orator and loving servant, our lives enduring. Albeit I be not other as it were relegate from the Court and tied in the city for the better purging of the same from schism, sedition, and heresy, so that I can not (as my heart desireth) certify your Lordship, as this bearer (your Lordship's bondman) can do, yet have I thought it my bounden duty to let your Honour to understand that the state of the

* By the letter from the Venetian Ambassador Michiel, date London, 17th June 1555, it is seen that Cardinal Pole was then at Canterbury, so I infer that he probably wrote to the Pope from Calais on the 15th.

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city, being (as you know) the spectacle of this realm, daily drawing, partly for love and partly for fear, to conformity, doth not a little amend, whereof God grant increase and restitution to the old state and dignity, to God's honour and glory. And where of late through too much pietie [pity?] mixed with sinful civility, the inferior sort—yea in times of executions—began to be stout, and seemed to glory in their malignity; now the sharpness of the sword, and other corrections, hath begun to bring forth that, the Word, in stony hearts could not do; so that by discreet severity we have good hope of universal unity in religion, and thereby perfect unanimity among the superior sort, unless some lurking darns* (which as yet in every assembly lacketh not), *interturbet omnia*. The full cause of all good men is, that by God's gracious assistance, and the good counsel of your Lordships and others, the late instruments of God's fury, being now worldlings respecting only the weathercock, shall shortly so be weeded, that these choke not the corn, which God grant, and to your Lordship, your heart's desire. With my most hearty commendation to my fond (*forwnde*) patrone and second father, good Mr. Bonvise, fautor of all good Catholic men, whom I trust your Lordship hath or will visit, whereof I know he will be very glad.

Your L. orator,
(Signed) Jo. Str.

London, 17th June 1555.

[*Addressed* :] "To the Right Honourable and my singular good Lord, my Lord the Earl of Devon."

[*Contemporary endorsement* :] "17 June 1555, from Mr. Storie."

[*And again, also in a hand of the time* :] "Mr. Storie, 15 June 1555, from London to Brussels."

June 17.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

138. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE

Six of the Spanish lords, the Imperial ambassador, and himself, came hither to-day from the Court, the Portuguese ambassador remaining behind from indisposition, all of them having been invited by the Royal Council, in the Queen's name, to honour the obsequies of the Queen of Spain, which to-day, at the vesper-hour, were commenced with great solemnity in St. Paul's Cathedral, and will end to-morrow after the mass. The French ambassador was in company with them, having been invited like the rest, and both at church, and in the evening, at the supper in the Bishop's palace prepared for them and the peers of the realm (*Signori del Regno*), he had his place. Taking into account the great number of persons who attended the ceremony, all being clad in long mourning cloaks generously given to each of them by her Majesty, and independently of the wax candles and furniture (*apparato*), which was very handsome, the cost could not have been less than from 6,000 to 7,000 ducats.

They return to the Court to-morrow with full hope either of

* Darnels, weeds, or tares?

1555.

finding the Queen auspiciously delivered, or that she will be so very speedily; the King with his own lips having told him three days ago, that she had commenced being troubled by certain pains which indicate the announcement of childbirth (*che dan segno di esser nontii del parto*).

Yesterday (Sunday), whilst with the King [at Hampton Court] for the purpose of accompanying him [to mass], the Chancellor, the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget arrived from the conference of Calais, and having withdrawn with his Majesty, narrated to him briefly the whole of the negotiation.

Was told subsequently by the Chancellor that although the conference is broken up (*è rotta*), the negotiation still remains on foot (*resta viva*), and by means of letters and embassies on one part and the other they will be more intent on it than ever, nor does his Lordship despair of some good result.

Hitherto it has been hard to discover the truth, as to which of the parties abstained from proceeding to the adjustment, because they each defend their cause according to interest and passion; but well nigh every one reports, that the Imperialists held more to their own (*essere stati più sulla sua*) than the French, and would not yield an atom of what concerns their grandeur and repute; having always been firm and constant on one point, that those who have been despoiled be in the first place restored; and then, that the [French] King's claims on the Milanese, etc., be referred to and decided by a council according to the form devised and proposed by the Chancellor; but on the return of Cardinal Pole, which will take place in two or three days — his right reverend Lordship having stopped at Canterbury for rest, being extremely tired (in addition to his constitutional debility) from mental and bodily fatigue endured, and from violent sea-sickness—every particular will be heard authentically and distinctly, and be communicated to his Serenity.

During this conference, the Constable served his King by inspecting that very important frontier, providing Montreuil and Boulogne with many things of which they stood in need, and enlarging the fortress of Ardres so that it can now lodge a large number of cavalry, of which it had need; and during his stay there he had a bastion raised, and enclosed the suburb, and, to hasten the operation, he made his own lackeys, and those of the noblemen with him, work.

As to affairs here, the King is anxiously awaiting the delivery, that he may confer with his father, and at length arrange the government and his affairs, which much to his detriment remain more undecided than ever, everything being deferred until that meeting, at which, as the Doge will have heard, the most Serene King of the Romans will also be present, in order to treat and decide whatever they have to do together concerning their public or private business, lest by the Emperor's absence or death any remain [unsettled] to disturb King Philip; and to unite the house of Austria (as it is supposed) with new states and alliances (*congiontionì*), for its utmost possible defence and conservation.

Through the Sigr. Carlo da Sanguino, brother of the chief har-
binger (*Forier Maggiore*), who serves here as Esquire carver, (gentil-

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homo della bocca), the Neapolitan representatives (quelli del Regno di Napoli) sent to offer King Philip a donation of 16,000 (?) crowns, a much smaller sum than was expected, and had been very earnestly solicited by Cardinal Pacheco, apologising for its smallness on the plea of their great poverty. This so incensed the King against Cardinal Pacheco, by reason of the strange forms which he is understood to have used in demanding it, that his Majesty cannot bear to hear him mentioned, and if it were in his power to maltreat him he would; nor was it true what his secretary said—as told me according to what I wrote—from ostentation, about the large sum of money he had saved; it being known on the contrary that, so far from having laid by one penny, he had rather incurred debt.

London, 17th June 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

June 24.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
Printed vol. v.
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi Poli,"
&c. pp. 14, 15.

139. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

As he is sending to his Holiness the Bishop designate of St. Asaph [Thomas Goldwell], a pupil of the Pope's house (for such he may with truth style one who during many years lived in the order of the Regular Clerks (*Clericorum Regularium*)* founded by his Holiness), he has no cause to trouble him with many words. Requests the Pope to give Goldwell such credence for what he will tell him about the state of affairs in England, and the matters intrusted to Pole by the two late Pontiffs of blessed memory, Julius and Marcellus, and by his present Holiness, as due to the piety of a person who lived religiously and holily in that order, which, moreover, caused the King and Queen to nominate him to the see of St. Asaph, an appointment highly commended by Pole; and having been born and educated in England, Goldwell will be able to give the Pope a very sure and clear account; and he undertook the task the more willingly, both from seeing the apostolic throne filled by his Holiness, and for the performance of an act of obedience.

Richmond, 24th June 1555.

[Latin, 14 lines.]

June 25 ?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time
or place in MS.

140. ACCOUNT OF NEGOTIATIONS at the CONFERENCE [of Marck (a village in the Calais Pale) in the months of May and June 1555.]

His Holiness may be informed that, although the deputies of both sovereigns departed without decision, what has been done is not fruitless, as by means of this congress (*congresso*), it has been proved that the Emperor and the King of France wish for mutual friendship, and also desire to contract a matrimonial alliance. The Pope therefore should urge both sovereigns to peace, to which they seem more disposed than formerly. Should the Pope wish for more particular information about the course pursued by his Legate and

* The order of Regular Clerks, or "Theatins," was founded by S. Gaetano (Gasparo Tiene) and Gio. Pietro Caraffa, A.D. 1524, September 14. I do not know in what year Goldwell entered the order.

1555.

the Queen's deputies in treating this peace, and the difficulties which occurred, Pole's agent may acquaint him with the substance of what took place at the conference as follows:—

On the first day of the Congress, which was Ascension Day [23rd May], after each party had visited the Legate, they assembled in a chamber arranged for the conference, and after mutual loving salutations and embraces, they seated themselves at a table, at the head of which was the Legate, and the Queen's deputies on either side of him, and on their right hand were the deputies of the Emperor, and on their left those of the King [of France].

The Legate commenced by congratulating himself with the deputies, and thanking God for having caused their Princes to send persons of such quality to negotiate so pious and holy a matter, and one so useful and necessary for the whole of Christendom, promising for himself and the other mediators to act with all faith and sincerity in endeavouring to bring this business to a good end, most especially as they were those same persons whose authority and assistance it had pleased God to employ for the reconciliation of England to his Church, after which they endeavoured to make peace between these two most powerful Princes. Then, using the words of the Prophet, "*Pax est opus justitie*," Pole said that to stipulate a good peace they must first hear the claims and differences of one side and the other, in order to find means for adjusting them, exhorting both parties to state the right of their Princes in such a form as to show that they have truly the desire evinced by them, and as it might be expected they would do.

The Duke de Medina Celi answered immediately, and the Cardinal of Lorraine followed; next spoke the Bishop of Arras and the Constable; each of them saying the most they could about the goodwill of their Princes, and their inclination towards the peace, expressing their own readiness to perform every good office to this end. Thus ended the colloquy on the first day, it being arranged that on the morrow both parties were to return and confer separately with the Legate and the personages sent by the Queen of England, as they did, and they sought to justify the proceedings of their Princes, both in beginning this war and with regard to their claims on the places taken in the course of it, and on the territories held by them previously, about which a difficulty is made.

Three days were passed in these discussions, after the first conference, and the mediators having made some replies to the French on behalf of the Imperialists, the French on their part expressed a wish to justify their cause in the presence of the Imperialists. As this did not seem a good way for coming to an agreement, but rather a means of irritating and increasing discord, one part doing its utmost to impugn the right and justification of the other, it was proposed that they should continue to treat their disputes separately with the Legate and the other mediators, until the basis of a conclusion was arrived at; but as both parties seemed moderate as to the rights of their Princes, without offending each other, it was settled for them to meet in the common house, where they justified the rights of their Princes without any harsh language, leaving, however, small hope of concluding any agreement in that way; so

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to try what could be done, seeing that the chief difficulty consisted in the Duchy of Milan, and Piedmont and Savoy, it was proposed by the Chancellor that the best way would be to have recourse to marriages. First, to marry the French King's eldest daughter, Madame Elizabeth, to the Prince of Spain, Don Carlos, to whom King Philip might cede the right claimed by him to the Milanese, she being assigned a suitable dowry on the Duchy, and in the event of her death without issue the King's claims to remain in their original force. This marriage seemed to be approved by the deputies on both sides, nor did the Imperialists make any difficulty about the terms, but the French said that the King would never consent to cede his rights, and that in this way the marriage would not be a good means for peace, the seed of fresh war remaining always alive. The Legate then said, that it having been seen by the experience of many years that it was impossible to settle these differences either by force of arms or by alleging rights, no better way remained than to elect arbitrators, and that it would be a great honour for the parties were they to consent to this for the public quiet, they doing honour to Christendom by showing it contained persons to whom they could reasonably refer their controversies.

As they made no further reply to this, the Legate requested them all to consider the matter, and on the morrow the mediators sent to request each of the parties to send one of the deputies to Calais to confer with them, and announce some opinion which might serve for negotiation. On the part of the Imperialists there came Monsr. de Viglius [President of the Council of Brussels],* and for the French the Bishop of Orleans, who were a long while with the Legate and the other mediators, without, however, concluding anything, as they brought nothing new, but it was arranged to meet on the morrow, when the Chancellor, in the name of all the mediators, said that notwithstanding the great difficulties which prevent the adjustment between the Emperor and the King of France, it nevertheless seemed that as a commencement of the peace they ought not to omit making the marriage between the daughter of the King of France and Don Carlos, the son of the King of England,† and that the King's claims upon Milan should be decided by a Council General, to be requested of the Pope by the Emperor and King Henry conjointly, immediately on his creation (the Apostolic See being then vacant), by means of their ambassadors. Then, with regard to Piedmont and Savoy, on which the King of France has in like manner claims, the Chancellor proposed another marriage, between the King's sister‡ and the Duke [Emanuel Philibert], he taking possession of those territories, but leaving certain fortresses in the hands of the King until the council aforesaid shall have decided about his rights. At

* See Foreign Calendar, April 11, 1555 (No. 344, p. 162).

† Don Carlos was born on the 12th July 1545, and the Princess Elizabeth of France on the 13th April 1545. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*.)

‡ Margaret of France was married to Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, on the 9th July 1559. (See *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*.)

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the moment the only reply made by the Imperialists was that as the matter was of such great importance they demanded four days time to acquaint the Emperor with the whole and receive his answer. The French deputies accepted the first part respecting the marriage between Don Carlos and the King's daughter, but not the second with regard to the Duke of Savoy, to whom they said that the King would restore nothing whatever, laying claim to the territory until his rights to the Milanese were acknowledged, and possession of it given him, and they said the like about what related to the other parties concerned; but in order not to break off entirely it was agreed to await the Emperor's reply, and such was the end of that day's conference.

Then on the fourth day the reply arrived; its substance, as announced by the Bishop of Arras, purporting that the Emperor's differences (*differentie*) with the King of France were so based on justice that there was no occasion to compromise them (*mettere in compromesso*), but that, nevertheless, as a testimony of his wish for peace and the public quiet, he approved what had been proposed by the mediators, provided the differences for reference to the Council were limited and defined, as he did not intend to include such as had been already decided by other treaties between them; and the King's deputies again repeated what they had said before about the affairs of the Duke of Savoy. Thereupon the Legate commended the piety of the sovereigns in referring their disputes to the judge appointed by Christ for his Church, by means of a Council, saying that this was a revival of the ancient piety of Constantine and Charlemagne, and that Pole, having on that day received a brief from the newly-elected Pope [Paul IV., Caraffa, elected 23rd May],* announcing his election, and giving him stringent commission to continue endeavouring by all means to effect the peace, took occasion, from his Holiness' qualities, to say it was evident that the Almighty called them to peace in every way, and that in order to conclude it by a council, his divine goodness had given them a Pope who had always shown himself very desirous of peace for the Church with God and between sovereigns. With this the Legate ended his discourse, exhorting them all to accept so great an invitation and such assistance from God, and such a mediator and judge of their differences, and not to reject a benefit which was no less necessary than it was universal and particular, and that they should condescend to some restitution of conquests made in war, as otherwise he did not see how it was possible to arrive at any good conclusion of peace.

Subsequently the parties debated the matter at great length, both separately and together, neither side agreeing to the restitution of Piedmont and Savoy, and the French deputies saying they could no longer remain away from the King, notwithstanding all the suit to the contrary made by the mediators; so by the consent of all parties the colloquy was dissolved, with the understanding,

* The news of the election arrived in London on the 6th June. (See letter of the Ambassador Michiel.)

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however, that the negotiation for peace was not closed; and thus both sides thanking the mediators, and offering their assistance whenever in their power to be of use in this business, all returned homewards, with the same loving demonstrations as when they embraced each other on the first day of the congress.

From London, 25th June 1555?*

[*Italian.*]

June 25.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

141. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most illustrious Legate [Cardinal Pole] returned looking perfectly well, notwithstanding the great fatigue and inconvenience undergone by him, and he confirms what the Chancellor [Gardiner] told me concerning the affair of the peace, that it was not yet utterly hopeless, and besides, that while before they assembled at the conference the French then were more anxious, tractable, and submissive, after it met they were harsher and more intractable, either because having dissembled until then, they came to increase their repute, or else because the papal election, considered so very advantageous for them as being their act, and the speedy putting to sea of the Turkish fleet, as is more credible, made them change their mind. In short, they would neither consent to, nor accept any of, the conditions proposed, and the difficulty consisted in arranging the affairs of the injured parties under the protection of the Emperor, namely, the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Mantua for the affairs of Casale and Montferrat, and the Genoese for Corsica, as with regard to the other reciprocal claims and grievances between the Emperor and the King, their adjustment was not difficult, seeing that the Emperor, from his wish for peace, consented to refer the matters of Mentz, Verdun, and other places of Lorraine, to the next Imperial Diet, and would moreover easily have settled the affair of Marienburg, either by restitution or exchange; whilst respecting the Duchy of Milan, concerning which the French urged their claims more strongly than ever, in virtue of the Emperor's repeated promises and their own rights, of which they have been unjustly deprived, and other demands made by one side and the other, provided they could have adjusted the affairs of the despoiled potentates, which have nothing to do either with the Emperor or the King of France, those two powers had, amongst other conventions, arrived at the two following: the one, to make a marriage between the Infant Don Carlos, King Philip's son, and a daughter of the most Christian King, desisting in the meanwhile from hostilities, and thus renewing the friendship and family connexion between these two sovereigns, their own [political?] affairs remaining in their present state (*restando le cose proprie loro nelli termini che si trovano*). The other was, the marriage not taking place, that matters still remaining as they are, without alteration or change, the disputes and

* By the Michiel correspondence it is seen that Cardinal Pole was back in London from the Conference of Marck on the 25th June, and I therefore assign that date to the foregoing document.

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claims of both sides were to be referred to a future Council-General, the parties abiding absolutely by its decision.

These conditions, subjecting them to no innovation (*non li portando innovation alcuna*), pleased the French, who consented alike both to Don Carlos' marriage, but without detriment to the claims of either side, insisting on this being specified, and to the arbitration of a council or other judges, their aim and intention being, without surrendering anything they held, solely to protract (*di scorrev*) and gain time, knowing that it would always be in their power, by excuses and obstacles of one sort and another, to put off the decision as long as they liked. As soon, however, as they came to the restitution demanded for the Duke of Savoy and the other despoiled potentates, and their restoration, the French rejected every proposal, saying that the Emperor also on his part should give up what he held belonging to their friends and confederates, urging as a counter claim to Piedmont their right to the kingdom of Navarre, on the plea that the King having died lately, there is the Duke de Vendôme [Antoine de Bourbon], his cousin, in their phraseology his brother. To the Emperor's demands for Corsica, they retort by claiming Sienna, and the Duke of Mantua's rights are disposed of by referring to those of Duke Ottavio Farnese.

Moreover, with regard to the Duke of Savoy, they put forward many claims in right of the mother of King Francis, Madame Louise of Savoy, whereby they maintain that their present possession of those territories is legitimate, and that they are not bound to make any restitution, as having found their enemies there and expelled them, they, according to martial law (*le leggi della guerra*), are its legitimate masters, which argument they also apply to the affairs of Casale and Corsica, and thus defend their occupation of those places; and returning to the Duke of Savoy, they also said they declined to treat or discuss his affairs with the Emperor or his ministers, but only with the Duke or the Duke's agents, and that whenever he went or sent to France he would be received to his satisfaction. To this it was said that the Duke would form no resolve without the Emperor's knowledge and consent, and that negotiating with one he negotiated with the other. They rejoined that, touching the Duke's resolve, he might make it to the pleasure of the Emperor, but that they would treat with none but himself; and although it was proposed to them that the Emperor would consent to his marriage with Madame Margaret, the King's sister, provided they reinstated him, and that they might retain the same number of his fortresses as those remaining to the Emperor until the affairs of the Milanese, which apparently gave rise to the contest, were adjusted, yet would they give no ear to it. On the other hand, in lieu of Savoy and Piedmont now held by them, they offered to cede to the Emperor their rights to the Milanese, he making such compensation to the Duke of Savoy as he might think fit, or else that the Emperor might give him the Milanese, which belonged to them, making him cede them as recompense Savoy and Piedmont, with which they would be content, thus showing in what great account they held those provinces, by preferring them to the Milanese, which Duchy,

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they said openly, they would not confer on the Duke of Orleans, but annex it to the royal crown, to which they said it had devolved.

Thus they renounced any adjustment, though at the end they took leave of each other very courteously and without any anger, praying Cardinal Pole and the English commissioners to persevere in the negotiation, as perchance the Almighty would offer some better mode and form than had then been adopted. Now on their departure Cardinal Pole, in his own name and that of the English commissioners, sent the Abbot of San Saluto after them, giving them to understand that as the terms proposed for the adjustment between the Emperor and the King seemed not to offer many difficulties, there remaining those of the [other?] parties concerned, and most especially of the Duke of Savoy, which impeded these [affairs of the two crowns?], they should be pleased to think of some form of treaty with the said adherents (*interessati*), as Cardinal Pole hoped that when their difficulties were settled, all the others would adjust themselves. The French repeated what they had already said, that the Duke and the others were to come or send to France; that there a parley would be held, and means be found to satisfy them. They answered that this was not to be thought of, but that there was a middle course (*una forma media*) to which, should the French consent, endeavours would be made to obtain the consent of the Imperialists, as assented to by both, thus, that each was to treat and hear from his confederates and dependents who are concerned, what they would finally content themselves with, the Imperial nominees (*nominati*) as aforesaid being Savoy, Mantua, and Genoa; and those of France, Sienna, Duke Ottavio (*Farnese*), and, for the affairs of Navarre, Mons. de Vendôme, about which last it was strongly urged that nothing should be said, as the matter was of ancient date, and would make the Imperialists revive many other quarrels of the same sort, to the ruin of the whole negotiation.

The Abbot [of San Saluto] then proposed of his own accord that it would be well to fix a term and limited period for this tractation (*questa trattatione*), during which interval a truce should be made. Thereupon, with regard to time, the French referred themselves to the Emperor, and as to the truce, they seemed inclined towards it; but to this the Imperialists did not assent; and as to the time, referred themselves to the return to Flanders of the Duke of Savoy, in order to know his mind.

Matters remain in this state; and hence comes the hope entertained by Cardinal Pole and Chancellor Gardiner of the agreement; which if not effected in this way, it is the opinion of those who discover secrets (*che penetrano nelli secreti*), that the Imperialists, despairing of its ever being effected either now or hereafter, will without farther delay, form a fresh resolve, and that at the congress about to be held between the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and King Philip (*questa Maestà*), they will principally discuss the Milanese, with a view to appointing a Duke of its own, (*per mettersi un particolare duca*) dependent on themselves; endeavouring to form a league with the States of Italy, not only for her defence, but for the recovery, so far as possible, of Piedmont and Savoy; and they rely greatly on your Serenity, who will have no lack of offers

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and conditions, as has been already hinted to me from several quarters.

Richmond, 25th June 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

June 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

142. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On our return here to the Court after the obsequies, we expected, by reason of the pains which her Majesty had commenced suffering, to find the Queen in childbed; but from the result, we have become aware (*si siamo accorti*) that they were not of that sort, so there is no one, either of the physicians, or of the women, or others, all having been deceived, who at present dare any longer form an opinion about it, all persons resigning themselves to such hour and time as shall best please our Lord God; the universal persuasion and belief being, that so will it come to pass in this, as in all her Majesty's other circumstances, which the more they were despaired of according to human reasoning and discourse, the better and more auspicious did their result then show itself, thus fully proving to the world that they were regulated exclusively by Divine Providence.

Elsewhere, as here, this delay will give rise from day to day to various comments and conversations, all persons interpreting it according to their own interest and passion, rather than rightfully and reasonably; which I mention, because last week two gentlemen (*persone nobili*) of no ordinary repute (*di non vulgar consideratione*) were imprisoned in the Tower, on a charge, according to report, of having spoken about this delivery licentiously, in a tone unbecoming their grade. One of the two, by name Master Harper (*Mastro Harper*), a factious individual, who having been condemned last year for Wyatt's rebellion, was subsequently released by the Queen at the King's intercession; so the punishment of these men may perhaps repress the audacity of the others.*

They have commenced fitting out the fleet for the King's passage after the delivery, and within a month it will be all assembled and well armed; for this likewise, as told me by the Admiral, the Queen has even spent from 8,000*l.* to 9,000*l.* sterling, nor will it disarm until his Majesty's return.

A public proclamation was made in London ordering all persons possessed of books by Lutheran authors, whose names were specified, to bring them to the Bishop of the city within ten days, under heavy penalties, as otherwise, the due domiciliary visits being made, all persons found in possession of such works will be punished according to the penalty announced.† In the meanwhile, as a good precaution (*per buon rispetto*), London is in the custody of the

* Sir George Harper had been released from the Tower on the 18th January 1555, as appears by an entry in Machyn's Diary, where I find no mention of his second imprisonment.

† Machyn (p. 90) dates this proclamation 14th June 1555, and the authors named by him are Luther, Tindal, Miles Coverdale, and Craumer.

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Earl of Pembroke, who will, however, re-cross the Channel shortly; and by order of the Royal Council, to prevent any cause for commotion, the Lord Mayor has been desired not to permit the performance of the usual pageant on setting the Midsummer watches.*

At the last sitting of the Council (*nella ultima consulta*), the King pardoned many persons who had been outlawed from the Milanese, and despatched favourably the suits of many Neapolitans, dismissing all as well satisfied as possible, considering the present times.

The summaries contained in your Serenity's letters of the 6th have been communicated as usual.

Richmond, 26th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 26.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

143. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I yesterday condoled with the Emperor on the death of the most Serene Queen his mother, adding, for his consolation, that he would soon receive such news as not only to moderate his grief, but to cause extreme joy, by its announcing the auspicious delivery of the Queen of England, which birth, I said, would give your Serenity as much satisfaction as if you had heard of the stipulation of the peace, and that his commissioners had comported themselves so well in treating the conditions of the peace that he could not but obtain great praise. His Majesty replied that my condolence was a proof of that affection which corresponded with the friendship he had ever had with your Serenity, and that he resigned himself to the will of God, thanking me for my good wishes concerning the delivery of the Queen of England, about whom he said that, by reason of her goodness and religion, he believed that the Lord God would assist her in childbirth, which, to say the truth, was no less tardy in taking place than the news received here of its fulfilment had been premature; nor did he doubt your Serenity's being as glad to hear of this delivery as of the conclusion of the peace, which failed by fault of the French, who made demands synonymous, to use his Majesty's own expression, with stamping on his throat (*metterle il piede in su la gola*); and suiting the action to the word, he placed his right hand on his neck, and with great vehemence explained this conceit, and repeated it twice. He proceeded then to say, that from constant proofs he very well knew the nature of Frenchmen, which would be better known to persons read in history, as he supposed I was, and better still than either of us by a Republic which had lasted so long as that of Venice, whose boundless experience would have enabled her to comprehend that they have ever sought to dominate not a part, but the whole of the world (*de dominare non una parte, ma tutto il mondo*); notwithstanding which, he would willingly condescend again to make peace on suitable terms. Throughout the conversation

* Che non permettesse che si facesse la festa solita di San Giovanni.

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he shewed himself so kind and gracious that more could not be desired ; and I found him looking very well, and so inclined to talk at length that he seemed to enjoy it, and when I saw that he had enough, I took leave of him.

Brussels, 26th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 28.

Parti Comuni
Consiglio X.

vol. xxii. p. (69),
28.

144. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN concerning VISCOUNT MONTAGU.

That the jewels of the Sanctuary and the armoury halls of this Council be shown to the English ambassador, Lord Montagu (*Mons. di Monte Agut*).

Ayes, 15. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.*

June 30.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

145. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The English ambassador went yesterday to the Bishop of Arras, saying he was commissioned by the Queen's Council to let him know, for the Emperor's information, that many troops have mustered on the Scottish borders ; so she had determined to make the necessary preparations against any attack meditated by the Scots, and wrote to her ambassador in France to ascertain from the King (as he had the Queen of Scotland in his power, and was the confederate of that kingdom) the cause of this stir. He also prayed the Bishop to induce the Emperor to allow Lord Courtenay to depart for Italy, to which he replied that the Emperor did not interfere in this business, but that Courtenay would have the permission from the Queen of England, telling the ambassador (as from himself) to dissuade the undertaking of this journey for the present, that he might remain to see this war, with other loving expressions about Lord Courtenay, who seems much troubled at not obtaining this licence.

Lottino, who was sent by the Emperor to King Philip, to acquaint him with the narrations (*relationi*) received from Cardinal Sta. Fiore and Don Juan Metich of the mode in which the Pope's election took place, has returned,† and the day before yesterday had audience of his Majesty, who confirmed to him the authority given by the King to the said Cardinal, to grant what terms he pleases to Paolo Giordano Orsini, son-in-law of the Duke of Florence, and his right reverend Lordship's nephew. To-day his Majesty had a packet consigned to

* On the 31st August 1554, the Council of Ten granted a similar permit, thus, "To Mr. Richard Bertie, husband of the Duchess of Suffolk of England." Ayes, 17; No, 0; Neutral, 0. The title "*of England*," seems to have been given to Katherine Willoughby in right of her first husband, whose second wife was the sister of Henry VIII. In Burke's "Extinct Peerages" (p. 54) is the following paragraph: "During the reign of Queen Mary the Duchess of Suffolk, being a zealous supporter of the Reformation, was obliged to retire, accompanied by Mr. Bertie, from England, and they subsequently encountered great privations and dangers upon the Continent."

I am unable to ascertain when Lady Willoughby de Eresby left England, but from the wording of the "permit" given by the Council of Ten, it may be inferred that she was with her husband in Venice on the 31st August 1554.

† Francesco Lotino or Lottino, secretary of Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal di Santa-fiore, gave account to the Emperor of many illegal proceedings which took place at the election of Paul IV. (See Andrea Moresini, *Storia Veneziana*, vol. 2, p. 260.)

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Lottino for Don Francesco de Toledo, charging him to enter Sienna as his lieutenant, by which same packet I have heard the Emperor writes to the Duke of Alva, I could not discover what, concerning Duke Ottavio [Farnese], to whom he had been already commissioned to offer honourable terms, in order to bring him back to his Majesty's allegiance (*per ritornarlo alla devotion di S.M.*).

Brussels, 30th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 30.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

146. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After communicating the Turkish advices to the King, told him that although the conference had produced but little result, many persons nevertheless did not quite despair of it, and that he, knowing the goodness of his Majesty's disposition, was one of these. The King replied that his ministers had proceeded in such a way as to render his goodwill evident, not only by referring the disputes to the Council General (*al concilio generale*), but even to Cardinal Pole alone, but that the Imperialists showed themselves so obstructive that there was no way of effecting an adjustment; and although Cardinal Pole did not fail in his goodwill, yet, as the Queen of England was in retirement on account of her pregnancy (saying with a laugh, "I know not whether she be or be not pregnant"), he had not yet spoken to her Majesty; and that the Bishop of Arras likewise had told his most Christian Majesty's ministers that they were not to consider this departure from the conference as a total suppression of the business, but that it proceeded from the difficulty which had prevented an agreement, and that they should not fail using their good offices, as he also would do the like with his Imperial Majesty.

The King stated that he had intercepted letters written to the Emperor by his daughter in Spain concerning public affairs, and that the Royal Council of England having heard this, requested him to send them, not the letters of the Emperor, nor those of the King of England, but such as were contained in the packet, and addressed to private individuals, whose names they gave him; in reply to which his Majesty sent the letters requested of him, without saying whether the packet had been intercepted or not.

Poissy, 30th June 1555.

[*Italian.*]

June 30.
Filza No. 134,
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi,
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

147. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Mr. WILLIAM CORDELL.

Mr. Cordall,—I received your letters of the 27th of May, whereby I both received your good advice and perceived the will and contentation you have to the furtherance of my affairs, for which I most heartily thank you. I have hitherto made you no answer, partly because it was long before your letter came to my hands, and partly because I abode the return of this messenger, whom now I have sent to you to declare to you my mind by mouth at full, whom I

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pray you credit accordingly. This for this time, with my most hearty commendations, I bid you well to fare.

Your loving friend,

Brussels, 30th June 1555.

(Signed) E. DEVON.

[*Holograph.*]

[*Endorsed also in Courtenay's own hand:*] "To my lovinge friend Mr. W. Cordall, the Quene's Maties Sollicitor Geñle thies wt sped at the Court."

[*And again, also by Courtenay:*] "Last of June 1555. Copey. Cordall."

June 30.
Filza No. 134,
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

148. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Mr. BASSET.

Would have long since answered his letters of the 25th and 26th May, "touching my affaires," but that partly it was long ere he received them, and partly he waited for the return of "this messenger, who brought me from you full answer and satisfaction of that wherein I sent to you." Sends same messenger back to him now, to declare his mind verbally about his affairs. Begs his most hearty commendation to Don (Sr.) Ruy Gomez (Rigomez), thanking him for the services which Basset's letter had mentioned. Also to be commended "to the rest of my friends."

In a P.S. he adds,—

"News, we have none here but such as I am sure you are not ignorant of touching matters of importance. But touching myself, you shall understand I find here great favour at the Bishop of Arras's hands, who yesterday did me this honour, that he came unto my house to me, onely to salute and visit me, which I assure you for my part I cannot but think myself very greatly bound unto him for, and also gather thereby assured hope of further favour otherwise, not a little to my contentation."

Brussels, 30th June 1555.

[*Endorsed in same hand:*]

"A cople sent to Mr. Bassat the last of June 1555, from Brussels."

June 30.
Filza No. 134,
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

149. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE (in his Secretary's hand), to Mr. [Sir FRANCIS] ENGLEFELD.

Has received his letters of 11th instant. Sees his gentle carefulness about his affairs, and thanks him. Understood from "this messenger" Englefeld's "mynd at full." Asks continuance of his friendship about his affairs. "And thus for this time, as one that is but an ill and a gross secretary, I omit to trouble you with a long letter, beseeching God to have you in his keeping."

Your assured friend

Brussels, 30th June 1555.

E. DEVON.

[*Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:*]

"A cople to Mr. Englefeld of the last of June 1555, from Bruxels."

1555.
July 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

150. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

*Besides what your Serenity heard by my last of the 25th ulto., about the negotiation and result of the conference, you will learn in addition how it has been told me for certain, that the Constable, on departing, left a writing in the hands of the Abbot of San Saluto, to be shewn to the Duke of Savoy, and to be discussed (negotiata) with him, the contents of which I have been unable to ascertain anything about, despite my utmost endeavours; but from conjecture it may be supposed to be nothing but some form of adjustment or compensation, or something of the sort, offered him by the King; so the greater is the anxiety about his return from Italy, on the first news of which it is supposed the Abbot will go to him immediately. In the meanwhile, his most Christian Majesty has sent back the Prothonotary de Noailles with letters to the most Serene Queen and the most illustrious Legate, thanking them—thus is it said hitherto—for their good offices and exertions respecting the conference, evincing extreme satisfaction at their good intentions (*buon animo et volontà loro*) in this negotiation. Many persons are of opinion that the King performed this office, in order thus covertly, by making some fresh proposal, to resume the affair, or give Cardinal Pole and Chancellor Gardiner an opportunity for making some fresh proposal, or at least for keeping the negotiation in mind and alive, with the hope either that some fresh circumstance, or some other more propitious moment, may facilitate and accomplish it, or else on the contrary, that it be dismissed and disappear entirely; but the Prothonotary not having yet had audience, the Queen being in such close retirement as she is, his conference with the Legate being also deferred, it has been impossible hitherto to obtain more than this general information.*

Since his return, Cardinal Pole has been and is intent with all earnestness on regulating and carrying into effect the restitution of the Church property held by the Crown, the Queen choosing at any rate—although its revenues will thus be diminished by upwards of 200,000 ducats—to clear her conscience, having referred herself entirely to the judgment and opinion of his right reverend Lordship, utterly regardless of poverty, provided she absolve herself. In two days Cardinal Pole will send an Englishman, one of his familiars, to Rome, to acquaint the Pope with the resolve formed about this with the Lords of the royal Council, so as to injure (offender) the Crown as little as possible, and in the meanwhile to make amends (*redintegrar*) to all the parishes and benefices for the cure of souls, for all they were despoiled of, and subsequently from day to day to continue rebuilding and re-establishing (*riedificando et redintegrando*) the hospitals, monasteries, and other churches, according to need and opportunity; Cardinal Pole—although he has the most ample faculty—not choosing to take any authority upon himself without the Pope's knowledge and express order.

Yesterday, by way of France, letters arrived from Spain, brought by an Englishman, dated Seville the 10th, and Valladolid the 15th and 16th ult., announcing the safe arrival of six caravels of the fleet from Peru, as many more having remained behind at a short

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distance, all very richly freighted, according to the usual parlance of these Spaniards, who invariably reckon by millions. By this same despatch other news was heard—no less good—how in the province of Peru, near the city of Cusco, the royal officials and ministers and their troops had engaged and worsted that Captain Francisco Hernandes de Giron, who having many followers, rebelled and made himself king, and taking flight with six horsemen, one of his own people killed him with upwards of twenty wounds, so that by his death that province remained peaceable and quiet, greatly to the profit of the Emperor, who would obtain all the property and effects of the rebels.

The Emperor has again urged King Philip to cross the Channel immediately after the delivery, and many persons add that he has ordered him not to delay beyond the 20th instant, whether it takes place or not; concerning which child-birth I will not omit telling your Serenity a pleasant thing, namely, that the King of Poland having sent hither an ambassador with the due congratulations on such an event, supposing it to have already taken place, and at the same time to condole on the death of the Queen of Spain, and this envoy having come with a premeditated Latin oration, combining one office and the other, he did not choose his labour to be vain, for when the King gave him public audience, after having first performed the office of condolence, he at one and the same time chose also to deliver himself of this one of congratulation, just as if the event had already taken place, to the laughter and amusement of many persons who were present.

Since the residence here of the Court, there have been many affrays between the Spaniards and the English,† several persons on either side having been wounded and killed, the English always getting the worst of it; and lately on Corpus Christi day, a serious assault well nigh took place, as the English, enraged in consequence of certain wounds inflicted on one of their countrymen, notwithstanding his having deserved them, were on the point of entering the church, where all the Spaniards, including the most noble and illustrious of that nation, had assembled to go forth in procession, and of treating them to rough usage, and to a vesper-service like that of Sicily (facendo loro un vespero conforme a quello di Sicilia).‡ For on the sudden such a concourse of Englishmen presented themselves outside the church as doubly to outnumber the Spaniards, and with great difficulty was their wrath mitigated by some of the rioters, less daring and indiscreet than the rest. On this account, King Philip, wishing to prevent all cause for scandal, issued a proclamation two days ago, to the effect that the first Spaniard who shall dare to use a weapon is to have his hand cut off, and under the severest penalties he has forbidden both horsemen and footmen to carry any sort of harquebuss, and he has given orders to hang by the neck any man, who, whether in defence or offence, shall dare raise the cry of "Spain" for assistance, not*

* Meaning Hampton Court, although the letter is dated Richmond.

† Sono successi tra Spagnoli et Inglesi molti romori di costione.

‡ The Sicilian vespers, or massacre of the French in Sicily, commenced at Palermo, March 30, 1282. (See Haydn's Dictionary of Dates.)

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choosing that even in self-defence, as is almost always the case, they should come to blows, at the risk of tumult or insurrection; but rather put up, as they do, with any affront or persecution.

The Cardinal San Clemente* and the Cardinal Camerlengo,† have sent to give particular account of the Pope's election, explaining how they did their utmost to prevent it, and recommending King Philip and praying him to provide for this necessity (*questa occasione*) on the creation of Popes, and to think more of affairs there [at Rome] than has been done of late, *protesting that otherwise, the friends of the Spanish faction dying daily, or being lost, his Majesty may thus incur considerable detriment; the Duke of Florence telling him the like and making many complaints.*

The Ambassador of the Queen of Poland [Bonna Sforza] departs to-day, having received handsome presents from both their Majesties, and been despatched according to his desire; taking back not only the confirmation of the privileges and exemptions of the Duchy of Bari,‡ but having received many additional favours (*gratie*) from his Majesty. To the Grand Master of Rhodes, King Philip has likewise conceded that all commanderies in Italy in his territories can only be taken possession of by appointment from said Grand Master and the Order; and nearly all suitors have been despatched with what may be called universal satisfaction, so that no private business remains on hand. The delegates (*reggenti*) from Naples and Milan assure me that since King Philip has assumed the government of those States, notwithstanding his present great penury, what with appointments, pensions, salaries, and other funds, he has deprived himself of upwards of 20,000 ducats annual revenue, disposing of it to one person and another in part for their deserts and necessities, and partly as mere reward and gratuity; and although his Majesty was reminded that considering the nature of the times, it would be well for him to proceed more prudently, he replied that, at least at this commencement, he holds the consolation afforded by him to his subjects through this demonstration of goodwill and affection in greater account, than the loss of a slight additional income, his need not consisting in so small a sum, as he requires a much greater supply; and if able to provide it, he will simultaneously provide for what he now deprives himself of; or should this be denied him, he congratulates himself at least on retaining the goodwill of those whom he will have benefited.

Richmond, 1st July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Giambattista Cicala, a Genoese, created Cardinal by Julius III. 20th December 1551. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 325.)

† Guido Ascanio Sforza held the post of "Cardinal Camerlengo" from the 22nd October 1537 until his death in 1564. (See Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, vol. vii., p. 80, Venezia, 1844.)

‡ Bonna Sforza, daughter of Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, by Isabella of Aragon, daughter of Alfonso II., King of Naples, who gave her the Duchy of Bari as her marriage portion. She went from Bari to Poland in 1518, where before her arrival the Poles used to drink for twelve hours at a sitting. She reduced the term to eight, and was one of the ablest politicians of her times. She died in 1557. (See Alberi's *Venetian Reports*.)

1555.

July 6.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

151. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

On leaving Calais, wrote to the Pope that the conference for the peace had been dissolved without farther conclusion, but not without hope, as expressed by both sides, that what had failed then might be accomplished later. Has not failed to confirm the Queen in this hope, and is sure she will continue to act as mediatrix in so good and holy a work. The most Christian King has now sent the Prothonotary de Noailles to thank the Queen for what she has done hitherto in this matter, showing himself more than ever inclined towards the peace. The Prothonotary performed the like office with Pole, bringing him letters of credence from the King and the Constable. Has thus a good opportunity for continuing the negotiation according to the Pope's order, to see if it is possible to bring it to a good end.

On returning hither, Pole thought of sending one of his attendants to the Pope to acquaint him with the affairs of these his legations, and with the state of spiritual matters in England, but waited for fuller decision about the Church property still in possession of the Crown, with regard to which their Majesties have always evinced an intention in accordance with their great piety, as Pole hopes the Pope will see by good effects.

Has presented the papal brief to the King and Queen, assuring them largely of what they may promise themselves from his Holiness' pious and paternal affection for the benefit of all Christendom, and especially towards them and their realms, of which they seem convinced.

Richmond, 6th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 8.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
"Epistolaram
Reginaldi Poli,"
etc.

152. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP of BADAJOS [FRANCISCO NAVARRE].

Has received two letters from him alike in tenour, most loving and kind, and remarkable for their manifestations of affection and piety, but nevertheless of that sort which he is accustomed either not to answer at all, or with difficulty. Navarre heretofore* sent him a letter written nearly in the same style, and having seen after how long a while and at length with what difficulty Pole answered it, he certainly did not expect the Bishop again to relapse into the same course; or has he done so, in order again to experience the ungraciousness as it were (*quasi inhumanitatem*) of Pole's silence? Would that he had thought to have experienced it the first time, as he would then have changed his tone. But as, taking in good part even those things for which other persons blamed Pole, he does not desist from praising him, although it was clearly demonstrated by Pole's former letter, that he was no more entitled to Navarre's praises, than if he had really exchanged his human form for that of an ass (he having, in fact, represented that character at the time when Navarre styled him well nigh a hero); and whereas Pole thought thus to silence Navarre completely, so that he might not

* Immediately after the Conclave of 1549-1550, to which see Cardinal Pole's reply, date 1550, June 17. (See No. 671, Venetian Calendar, vol. 5, p. 819.)

1555.

again thus commend him; Pole now discovers that he has effected nothing, as the Bishop finds subject for praise even in an ass, administering it in such wise as to raise him to heaven in that form.*

To say the truth, on reading this, he could not but acknowledge Navarre's extreme love for him, but could scarcely bring himself to answer it, though he at length determined to do so, passing over in silence the greater part relating to the praise lavished on himself, and merely replying to what he writes about King Philip, himself, and his flock. With regard to the King, the Bishop has ample field for panegyric, combining love and truth, whether in praise of his Majesty's piety and prudence, or of his singular gravity, magnanimity, and graciousness in every relation of life (*in omni vite genere*), as they find him, and as the Church found him immediately on his marriage to their Queen, given him by God, to render this assistance, of which the first fruit was the return of the kingdom to its true faith (*a sincera fide*) and obedience, from which it had been led astray by its late rulers.

On this theme the Bishop can dilate, and celebrate the piety and other virtues of both their Majesties, doing so deservedly, and much to the approval of all good men.

With regard to Navarre's permanent residence in his diocese, Pole greatly commends it. Pastors who attend so assiduously to the care of their flocks are worthy of congratulation.

The Bishop writes in favour of Giovanni Bonavita, and his wife Gerolama, daughter of Navarre's brother. Pole knew Bonavita heretofore, and esteemed him for his virtue, and now that he and his wife are allied to Navarre by kindred and piety, they will be yet more dear to Pole.

Navarre recommended Pietro Frango, who is known and esteemed by Pole, but he does not know how to assist him.

Navarre will hear from Rullo (*noster Rullus*) the state of affairs in general, and of Pole individually, and thereupon, if able to assist the Bishop in any way, will use his best offices to that effect.

Richmond, 8th July 1555.

[*Latin, 66 lines.*]

July 8.
Filza No. 134,
Miscellanea di
Atti diversi,
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

153. THOMAS MARTYN to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

My duty premised unto your good Lordship as it appertaineth.

These be rather to render your Honour thanks for your most loving letters, and gentle token (which I sent immediately unto the Court unto my Lord Chancellor for news), than that I have any new matter worthy to certify you of. If my letter sent unto your Lordship by one of your men in the beginning of the last week be delivered, I have now no need to say anything further. The chief and most necessary point was that, as it appertaineth, you remove

* Cumque putarem eâ re os tibi, ne me rursus ita laudares, penitus obstructum esse, adeo nihil profeci, at etiam in jumento inveneris quid laudes et ita laudes, ut in celura me ipso nomine feras.

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not from the Low Countries until the King's Majesty's coming. In the mean space I would wish you did acquaint yourself with the Bishop of Arras for purposes. Thus being ready to depart into my countrye I make an end, trusting at my return to certify you of some better news.

From the Savoy, 8th July 1555.

Your Lordship's most assured,

THO. MARTYN.

[Directed] "To the right honorable my Lorde Coortneye, Earl of Devonshire, these."

[Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:] "Doctor Marten, the 8th of July, from London, 1555." [And again:] "Mr. Marten, 8 June (sic), from London to Brussels."

July 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

154. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prothonotary Noailles and "lofar" (sic) [the ambassador?] his brother had audience of the Queen on the 3rd, not only for the purpose of returning thanks for the demonstrations used by her ministers and representatives at the conference, with regard to the expenditure and to the great trouble taken by them, but also to confirm her Majesty in this neutrality. They apologized and endeavoured to show that their King had not failed to make terms (di venir a compositione), justifying the proceedings of the French commissioners at the conference, lest the Queen should think otherwise than they deserved, by attributing the failure of the adjustment to any want of respect for her Majesty; adding that in like manner as their most Christian King regretted beyond measure not having had the satisfaction to witness the adjustment, and to assign the honour of it to her Majesty's instrumentality and mediation, so he declared himself more ready than ever to accept any fair terms of agreement that might be proposed, he not having swerved in the least from the wish hitherto demonstrated by him for peace and concord, which he still most earnestly desired; praying the Queen in conclusion not to relinquish the negotiation as hopeless, but together with her counsellors and the Legate to devise some other form of agreement.

The Queen replied that she deeply lamented having been deceived in her hope, after seeing at the commencement how readily the King had not merely consented to the conference, but sought it, thus showing his good and pious disposition, and the wish entertained by him for the adjustment; but that subsequently at the conference his commissioners formed a resolve at variance with that which had apparently actuated them, not choosing to accept any of the conventions offered them by the mediators and by the adversaries themselves, having more regard than due for their own rights (troppo più stimando la loro rasone del dovere). Of all that took place, however, the Queen said she would not lay the blame*

* Li sui havevano tenuti modi et risolutione contraria a quella, con che mostrorono di moversi.

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on anything but our own sins and demerits, and on the evil nature of the times (la malignità de tempi), God's wrath not having as yet sufficiently vented itself upon us. With regard to their proposal that she should again think of some other form of adjustment, she replied that although she would not refuse to make her ministers undertake fresh toil and trouble, and that she would again speak to the Legate, yet they must bear well in mind—and this she said half angrily (meza turbata)—that in the end she could not fail demonstrating her affection and obligation to the King her husband, and to the Emperor her father-in-law, giving it almost openly to be understood that she would cease to be neutral (di esser per uscir di neutralità).

These words caused the ambassador to reply: “Madame, from what I see, your Majesty must have been misinformed about my King's rights (ragioni), as [otherwise] you would not form this opinion [now] expressed; so I pray you to incline to hear them better [stated] than they have been heard by you, as I trust that on receiving the information you will change your mind and remain well satisfied with the King's determination and mode of proceeding, and that you will know his intention, and not have cause to interrupt the affection evinced by you towards him in return for that which he on his part bears your Majesty; and I and my brother offer to give, whenever it shall please you, such information and satisfaction as necessary to undeceive your Majesty.” This having apparently appeased the Queen, she said: “Well, let the matter be looked to and understood, as I am content to try again whether there could be any fresh form of agreement. I will communicate with my ministers and with the Legate, and we will see together what can be done, and if necessary I will let you know our mind and determination.” Whereupon they took leave, the Prothonotary saying he would remain in London ten or twelve days.*

On their return [from Hampton Court] they passed the whole of the rest of the day here [at Richmond] with Cardinal Pole, to whom they brought letters from the most Christian King, as also from the Constable for the Abbot of San Saluto, and they held a long conference; and on the morrow the Legate went to the Court, and remained a long while discussing these matters with the King and Queen, evincing, as told me on good authority, great wish for a truce (which would be much preferred by the French), should peace prove impossible, both because the whole difficulty reduces itself to the

* Le qual parole diedero occasione all' Orator di replicar: Madama, la Maestà Vostra deve esser stata, per quanto io vedo, mal informata delle ragioni del re mio, perchè ella non farebbe questo giudicio che fa; però io la prego a volersi dispor di intenderle meglio che non ha inteso, perchè io confido, informata che sia, muterà parere et resterà ben satisfatta della volontà et proceder del re, et conoscerà di qual animo egli sia; nè haverà causa di intermetter verso di lui la affettione che dimostra portarli per quella che dalla parte sua è portata alla Maestà Vostra; et io, et il mio fratello, sempre che le piacerà, si offerimo a darle quella informazione et satisfattione che sarà necessaria per disinganarla. A questo mostrando Sua Maestà di esser raddolcita disse: horsù che si veda et intendi che io ne sarò contenta et cerchisi di novo se ci fusse qualche nova forma di accordo; io sarò con li mei et con il Legato, et vederemo insieme ciò che si potrà far, et occorrendo vi farò intender lo animo et risoluzione nostra. Et con questo dicendo il Protonotario che si fermerebbe a Londra 10 o 12 giorni, si licentiarono.

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restoration of the Duke of Savoy, which they strenuously oppose, as your Serenity heard, and also as they again dispute that of Navarre. The Legate and their Majesties' councillors are chiefly intent, in the first place, on persuading the French to refer (*ammetter—sic*) [*rimetter?*] the case of Navarre, as a State matter, together with the other reciprocal claims of the Emperor and the King, to the decision of the Council or of other judges, and not to make any change at present with regard to the possession of that kingdom; endeavouring, secondly, respecting the Duke, to find the most suitable terms possible for his accommodation, which has been so difficult hitherto as to make everybody despair of it, the French not choosing by any means to restore Piedmont unless they have Milan, though they might be induced to reinstate him in Savoy.

With regard to the truce, the Abbot of San Saluto, by order of the Legate, returned yesterday to Hampton Court (a palazzo) to ascertain from Don Gutierre Lopez Padilla, King Philip's Chamberlain and Councillor for the affairs of the Council of State (*Dieta di Stato*), whether, if the truce or suspension of hostilities were negotiated on the least unfair and disadvantageous terms possible, his Majesty would assent to them according to the intention announced by him to Cardinal Pole; and it became evident that the personages here (*questi di qua*) will not assume any authority beyond that which the Emperor has given them concerning these and other negotiations. To-day, Cardinal Pole is expecting a visit from the Chancellor in the name of the King and Queen to acquaint him with their opinion (*per conferir quanto haveranno pensato*) concerning the whole affair, in order that should the project seem suitable and feasible, the Legate, as mediator, may propose it to the French, their Majesties not considering him entirely their confidant as they do the Chancellor and Paget (*non lo havendo per intieramente confidente loro come hanno il Cancelliere et Pagietto*), who are, nevertheless, also employed as mediators, an office requiring impartiality, without leaning more towards one side than the other, as very well done and demonstrated by Cardinal Pole, who, even on his own account, together with the Abbot of San Saluto, on whose judgment this negotiation in great part depends—he, as a person of experience and ability, having had a hand in it heretofore—does not fail devising practicable ways and means with regard to the ex-Duke of Savoy (*Duca vecchio di Saveglia*). His right reverend Lordship is strongly urged by all parties to effect some compromise (*compositione*), but the whole treaty is impeded and delayed by the absence of the Duke, concerning whom I will not omit to mention what was told me in confidence by a person of authority, the supreme negotiator in this matter; that when the conference broke up, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Constable said that they had represented to him [the Duke of Savoy] in the King's name (*che li fusse offerto per nome del Re*), that by not choosing to take the transaction of his affairs out of the Emperor's hands, they would share the same fate as those of his Imperial Majesty, whereas by detaching and treating them separately, and in his own person, going himself, or sending to France, he would obtain such terms from the King as completely to satisfy him; and even should the

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King and Duke be unable of themselves to arrange matters together, yet whenever the Emperor and the King adjusted their own personal affairs, as was not very remote, the King would refer those between the Duke and himself for arbitration to one or more judges, and abide absolutely by their sentence and decision; and this offer seems to me the one contained in the writing which the Constable on his departure [from March] delivered to Cardinal Pole for communication to the Duke. This same person has given me a clearer account of the circumstances narrated at the close of my letter of the 2nd instant, about the negotiating with the despoiled adherents on either side, well nigh quite the reverse of what was then told me; for the French offered and bound themselves to make an agreement (pigliar et accordar) with the parties despoiled by them, namely, the Duke of Mantua, within the term taken by the Emperor for an adjustment with the parties despoiled by him, and who were said by the French to be the Duke Ottavio [Farnese], the Siennese, and Navarre; but this last condition about Navarre prevented the offer from being accepted, for as to Duke Ottavio and the Siennese, the Imperialists said that they did not know that they complained of anything, and that if they would send or come in person with their complaints, due and sufficient satisfaction would be readily given them.*

Such is the state of affairs, which I have thus minutely detailed, thinking that on many accounts it would please your Serenity to be acquainted with them, nor will I for the future fail using such diligence as in duty bound, the whole affair having as it were been despatched here, so that I may give the Signory the best and truest account that from day to day I may be able to obtain of it.

The news of the taking of Porto Hercule has wonderfully rejoiced and comforted King Philip and the whole court, the Spanish Captain Torrest† who took part in the expedition, having come hither to acquaint him with particulars.

In London, which is the fountain-head of lies and popular disturbances, it was loudly rumoured lately, that, availing themselves of the pageants (*feste*) performed on the days of St. John and St. Peter, the populace there had intended to rise and come hither in arms to the court; of which the Lords of the Council having received notice, the pageants were forbidden, and several arrests took place. It was moreover reported that the Danish fleet had come into the British Channel (*in questo mare*), on its voyage towards Scotland to recover a certain island belonging to King Christian, which the Scots had occupied; all which reports were utterly false and mendacious, without any foundation, as ascertained by me through several channels. The pageants were not prohibited for the reason assigned, nor was anybody imprisoned;‡ and concerning

* Query 25th ultimo.

† The capture of Portecole in the year 1555, by Jacopo de Medici, Marquis of Marignano, is mentioned in the Venetian History of Andrea Morosini (vol. 2, p. 252), but he does not say in what month it took place.

‡ Hall gives account of the setting of the Midsummer watches at pp. 658, 750, and 756, and at pp. 750, 756, he says they were "LAIED DOWNE" in 1528. We now see that the custom still prevailed in 1555. In Machyn's Diary (p. 90) there is no mention of the projected riots in June 1555 as alluded to by the Venetian Ambassador.

1555.

the fleet, the only authentic intelligence received about it—as told me by the Chancellor and other members of the Council—is, that it would steer towards Sweden to honour King Christian's kinsman and confederate, King Gustavus (Vasa), whose subjects are maltreating him (*oppresso dalli medesimi di Suetia*).

Has nothing else of importance to tell about English events, everything proceeding in the usual course, and the Queen being well, and in constant expectation of her delivery.

Richmond, 9th July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

155. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Has heard that, through the medium of Cardinal Pole, the negotiation for an agreement between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty is being resumed.

Poissy, 9th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

156. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The treaty of agreement by means of Cardinal Pole will not proceed farther. England is repairing a number of ships; it is said that they are for King Philip's passage to Flanders; but his most Christian Majesty, to keep on the watch for what may occur, has sent orders to all his sea-ports on the ocean, for an embargo to be laid on all large French vessels.

Poissy, 10th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

157. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Here, many persons say, that all the ministers of the King of England write to those of the Emperor, as the King does to his Imperial Majesty, that they wish for nothing so much as to come to this court, for the sake of getting out of that country, whose inhabitants, they say, cannot be won by any means or courtesies of any sort which are employed by them, and which they continue using to that end; it seeming to them, on the contrary, that they are always threatened with some grievous catastrophe; so they are beyond measure anxious to see the end of this delivery (*parto*), which is also desired by the courtiers here, for the same reasons, and especially because they hope that, on the King's coming, the Flemings will make him a large pecuniary donation.

The Duke of Alva writes to the Emperor that he is strongly urged by the garrison of Volpiano (*da quelli di Volpiano*) to succour the place within a short period; and if unable to do so in time, he apologizes for it on account of his not having had it in his power to make use of the bills of exchange as the need required. He also recommends his Majesty to let the French feel the effect of the hope and promise given him by Queen Maria, that thirty thou-

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sand infantry and ten thousand horse should take the field in Flanders (*in queste parti*), to divert the war from Italy; and gives account of the cause which made him order the arrest of the Prince of Ascoli, praying his Majesty or the King of England to assume the charge of doing justice, he, the Duke, not wishing to interfere in the matter, having been the Prince's guest. At this court the Duke is much blamed, for that after having by all means sought supreme authority on going into Italy, he should at this commencement endeavour, as it were, to divest himself of it, for the avoidance of enmity either with this Prince, or with the kinsfolk of the Mendoza who was killed.* The Emperor sent the letters to the King of England immediately.

Brussels, 10th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 10.

Notatorio del
Collegio, vol. 38,
p. 157, tergo.

158. THOMAS THIRLBY, BISHOP of ELY.

Motion made in the College, there being present the Chiefs of the Ten. That by authority of this College, the armoury of our church of St. Mark be shown to the reverend ambassador of the King and Queen, lately arrived in this city.

Ayes, 17. No, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

July 12.

Filza No. 134,
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

159. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

My especial good Lord, my bounden duty most humbly remembered.

I have received your letter of the last of June, not a little to my comfort, to understand thereby of your good health and that you have received my letters, whereof, because it was so long ere I heard from you, I somewhat doubted the delivery of them; and specially to understand the great courtesy and gentleness the Bishop of Arras sheweth you, which is an argument, as your friends here doth gather it, that you shall shortly receive farther favour elsewhere, to your and your friends' no small comfort.

I am glad my letters hath purged me of that fault you supposed to be in me, which was slowness in writing; and now I wish your Lordship would amend in yourself that which you reckoned a fault in me, and then you might not only spare the charges in sending hither so often messengers of purpose, but also satisfy such of your friends as may justly look sometime to hear from you by writing, as my Lord Cardinal [Pole] and other, whereon I have at more length declared my mind to this bearer, both in that and all other matters, who by mouth, as I have instructed him, shall inform your Lordship of all things which I wish you to understand much better than my writing, and so at this instant he shall supply a longer letter. Thus wishing your good Lordship your own virtuous desire, I will commit the same to the tuition of Almighty God.

* Del Mendoza che fù morto.

1555.

In haste, the 12th day of July.

Your Lordship's most assuredly at commandment.

(Signed) JAMES BASSET.

[Directed:] "To the right honorable and very good Lord the Earl of Devonshire's good Lordship."

[Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:] "Mr. Bassat, 12 July 1555. From Hampton Court to Brussels."

July 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

160. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor has sent orders to Antwerp, Zealand, and Holland, for all the ships now there, and which may arrive hereafter, to be detained, which is said to proceed from the report current here, that the King of France is having a number of ships fitted out at Rouen, causing suspicion of his intention to hinder the passage hitherwards of the King of England, and on account of the Danish fleet which went to Scotland.

The Lord Paolo [Sforza], brother of Cardinal Sta. Fiore, has arrived here, on his way to enter the service of the King of England, and having told the Bishop of Arras that being charged to kiss the Emperor's hand in the names both of the Cardinal and the Count, he would omit the performance of this office to save him trouble, hearing he was indisposed, the Bishop told him not to depart, as the Emperor would see him previously. A son of the Imperial ambassador at Venice has also arrived here, and is going as page to the King of England; and having lodged himself at an inn, the Bishop of Arras sent to remove him thence immediately. The wines of France have been prohibited here, both to prevent the exportation of money, and by reason of the spies who came disguised as merchants.

Brussels, 14th July 1555.

[Italian.]

July 15.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

161. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 9th the right reverend Chancellor, as also the two other English commissioners for the conference [of Marck], namely, the Earl of Arundel and Paget, came to Cardinal Pole [at Richmond], being followed by Don Gutierre Lopez, and although they all four remained a long time with him, and he afterwards sent the Abbot of San Saluto to London to the French ambassador's, I have nevertheless merely been able to learn that the abbot informed them, on behalf of the Legate, that the King and Queen could form no decision before they again heard the will (*mente*) of the Emperor (to whom they had sent a despatch), and until after the arrival of the Duke of Savoy, as the Emperor himself being unable to make up his mind whilst unacquainted with the Duke's sentiments, it was impossible to proceed farther. They thus await his return, which, as he has been urged to come, cannot it is thought be long delayed, and therefore the Prothonotary [François de Noailles] still remains here, all negotiations being in the meanwhile suspended; nor do either of the parties seem to regret the hindrance, as it will

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enable them to witness the result of this delivery, for in whichever way it may terminate, the end of this and many other resolves depends upon it; but, according to the opinion of King Philip, as hitherto asserted by Cardinal Pole, the business is in a way to be settled by a truce, rather than by a peace.

The Danish fleet was seen many days ago off Scotland, near the city of St. Andrews. Some persons say it was carried there owing to contrary winds and stress of weather, rather than because bound to those parts, either for an attack or anything else, having been destined as stated for the Kingdom of Sweden. Others maintained that it came with hostile intentions, to recover one of the Orkney Isles held by the Scots. Others, on the contrary, are of opinion that it was destined neither for Sweden nor for this recovery, but because it had an understanding with the most Christian King, and that it is awaiting time and opportunity to invade this kingdom, being in such force that it can land from 6,000 to 7,000 infantry, and upwards of 2,000 horse; which others contradict, declaring it to be very weak. These rumours and conflicting reports, which proceed from individual passion, have nevertheless caused the Lords of the Council, although they have no certainty whatever concerning the object of this fleet, to make some provision for their security, having lately supplied the ports of the realm with a quantity of artillery and ammunition; and they have laid an embargo on all English vessels, stopping them, so that from one hour to another they may be ready for whatever the public service requires. This same proceeding about detaining ships is said to have taken place in France with regard to those of the King, all parties being evidently apprehensive; so there is constant anxiety to hear for certain the course of this fleet.

A few days ago the Chancellor had it intimated to the sons of the late Duke of Northumberland,* and to all the others who had been put in the Tower on account of Wyatt's insurrection, and were lately released, that under penalty of their Majesties' displeasure they are all to withdraw to their country houses, and not stir thence without special permission, nor on any account to come to the court, and still less to London; this being done to prevent the opportunity for the meetings which both the Dudleys and the others (*li uni et li altri*) held in St. Paul's church in London and elsewhere, their intentions (*volontà*) not being considered good.

The last advices from Spain say that King Philip's son, Don Carlos, was very near succeeding to the inheritance of Portugal, whose prince, an infant a year and half old,† had been so ill that in Castille they proclaimed his death, which, although false, the danger had nevertheless been very great, nor down to that time, although much better, was he quite free from it; so as yet the hope of that inheritance is not lost.

The *Signori* Pallavicini and other Lombards, who came to King Philip for the confirmation and renewal of privileges and inves-

* John Dudley. His sons here alluded to were Ambrose, Robert (in his 25th year), and Henry.

† Don Sebastian, born 20th January 1554, grandson of the reigning King John III., who died 7th June 1557.

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titures, and for other private business of theirs, are returning home with the grant of nearly all their demands, their entire despatch being referred to the Duke of Alva, to whom, although it was unnecessary, these references are made designedly, in order that he may thus have opportunity the more to ingratiate himself with everybody, and consequently become by so much the more popular. His Majesty has moreover charged the Duke, whenever information is demanded of him, as frequently occurs, concerning the petitions of private individuals, that when not utterly unfair he will answer them as favourably as he can; in order that the concessions made to the petitioners may render them no less obliged to the Duke than to the King, thus rendering him and his ministers universally beloved, as he considers this to be the chief safeguard of monarchies.

Richmond, 15th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

162. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England wrote to the Emperor, that the gentleman sent to the Queen by the King of France to thank her for her good offices about the peace, enquired whether she thought, should the King accept the last terms proposed by the Imperial commissioners, that the Emperor would consent to them; and when the Queen expressed her belief that he was still of the same mind, the gentleman gave it to be understood (*si lasciò intendere*) that he wished her to make him this reply, that he might have the Emperor's promise; and she again assuring him of it, he repeated that as his Imperial Majesty might have chanced to change his mind, he wished to know his opinion more authoritatively (*più fondatamente*), and would then proceed to speak farther on the subject; so King Philip enquired of the Emperor what reply he was to suggest to his consort, that she might give it to this gentleman. The Emperor immediately despatched the Secretary Erasso to tell the King his intention, which is, that should the Queen know for certain that this gentleman had come with such precise orders, that the King of France was determined to conclude the peace, she might promise that his Imperial Majesty would confirm what his commissioners said; but that if she were of opinion, as believed here, that the King sent him for another end, she was to dismiss him with such dignity as becoming.*

The Queen with her Council has written to Sir John Masone, that having heard by his letters that nearly all the personages at this court are of opinion that she is not pregnant, he is to undeceive and assure them that she is near her time; but some English merchants who came hither with their consul (*consule*), to speak to Queen Maria about certain wrongs done them at Antwerp contrary to their ancient privileges, say they have seen letters from two of the seven of the Council, with their signature, saying they

* Lo rissolve con quella dignità che si conviene.

1555.

did so in obedience to the Queen's command, and not because they believed it.

Brussels, 21st July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

163. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

With regard to the progress of the Danish fleet, the Chancellor [Bishop Gardiner], the Admiral [William Lord Howard of Effingham], and Paget confirmed to me the news of its having been driven to Scotland by stress of weather, notwithstanding which, its appearance greatly alarmed the Queen there* and her councillors, although shortly afterwards, without showing any sign of enmity or ill-will, it again put to sea, bound for Sweden, for the purpose of favouring (*affine d'impedir*—sic, for *favorir*), even by force, if necessary, the [right of?] election of King Gustavus, against the city of Lubeck and others [Hanse-towns], which right of election [of magistrates?] belongs, they say, to them, as they did last time, and not to the King. Hears on the same authority that this fleet did not number more than 50 or 60 sail, nor did the troops on board amount to more than 6,000 or 7,000 men.† The suspicion of the government here has therefore subsided, the ships have been relieved from their embargo, and the English ports opened; and on the return of a courier who is hourly expected from Scotland, whither he was sent by the French ambassador, having come expressly from France from the King for this purpose on the first report of the fleet's appearance, the fact will be entirely ascertained.

King Philip's passage across the Channel continues to be talked of, and I am told on good authority that it will not be delayed beyond the 20th of next month, whether the delivery take place or not, and that he will take with him only a few of his own subjects, in lieu of whom there will be five or six of the chief of these English lords, *not without mystery and after consideration rather than by chance (non senza misterio et consideratione più presto che a caso)*; and the Earl of Pembroke is already making great preparation; to make as magnificent a display as possible, this being his first appearance abroad, but the decision apparently is not certain, as they are expecting the Secretary Erasso from day to day with the Emperor's opinion. This determination to cross without witnessing the result of the delivery seems to proceed from the Emperor's firm decision to retire to Spain, at any rate, in the course of next September, King Philip wishing to confer with him before his embarkation; which decision, whether true or not, will have been more authentically announced by the Signory's ambassador at the Imperial court. I, on my part, can positively assure your Serenity, and on foundation, that so greatly do the realms of Spain need the presence either of the Emperor or of the

* Mary of Lorraine, Queen Dowager.

† In the Foreign Calendar, date May 25, 1555, allusion is made to the great naval preparations of the King of Denmark, and to the Emperor's having sent to Antwerp to some of the Easterlings there, to know what they meant.

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King, that every despatch from thence urges it most especially; and I am told for certain that a few days ago there was a great debate between King Philip's councillors here whether it was more expedient for him or for the Emperor to return thither. But with regard to the delivery, everybody being of opinion that it is now unaccountably delayed (*che tardi hormai più del dovere*), the physicians of the King and of the Queen, and two or three of her Majesty's most intimate and familiar female attendants, who see and handle her frequently (*che vedono et toccano spesso sua Maestà*), taking part in it and giving their opinion, held a formal consultation last week, and came, in fact, to the conclusion that they had deceived themselves about the conception by two, or perhaps by three, months, it being undeniable, and beyond a doubt, from many manifest signs, that the Queen is certainly pregnant, but not so far gone as was believed and published at the time. It is now said that the delivery may be protracted until the end of next month, and perhaps to that of September; so all persons seem to have resigned themselves to bide that time, which will never have been too late or wearisome should it please God to render it in the end such as is desired and hoped for by all good men.

Richmond, 23rd July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

164. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prince of Orange, who twice refused Queen Maria and the Bishop of Arras to assume the command of the troops at the fortress of Givet, at length, at the Emperor's persuasion, and by his order, accepted it, departing forthwith for the camp, being accompanied out of the town by a number of noblemen (*cavallieri*). The authority given him by the Emperor is that of general during the absence of the Duke of Savoy, and he has fitted himself out so well in every respect, and departed so cheerfully, as to give proof that he is sure of retaining the command throughout this summer, the doubt of which, rather than of receiving the stipend usually attached to the grade, caused him to refuse it. This prince is about 22 (*sic*) [23?] years old, without knowledge or experience of military matters, neither is he supposed to be by nature inclined towards them; but the Emperor has given him this charge to rid himself of the competition of those who aspired to it, and of the confusion which had arisen in the camp; the Prince of Orange, on many accounts, being his chief vassal in these provinces.

Since the last skirmish between the Imperialists and the French under the fortress of Givet, nothing has been done by either side. The fortress of Bethune, commenced by the French, has been secured, and they purpose erecting another between Mezières and Marienburg. The one which it was said the Emperor purposed building in the territory of Liège like Givet is not yet commenced, because the inhabitants of Liège sent delegates to his Majesty to say it was unfitting to exercise such authority in their jurisdiction, as it might cause claims on the part of his successors; to which the Emperor

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replied that he would find means to guarantee them against this, as his object is that the fortress may prevent the French from seizing their territory, and attacking him here at Brussels; and another reason for delaying this work is that the French are so strong in the field that they might prevent it.

The Emperor's order for an embargo to be laid on all vessels arriving in the ports of Zealand and Holland has been executed, and they are in great number. Subsequently his Majesty wrote to the Admiral of the "Ocean," desiring him to have in readiness military stores of every description sufficient for the outfit of 20 of the largest of these ships, on board of which he will embark 4,000 infantry, both by reason of the suspicion caused by the fleets of France and Denmark, and also because (according to the Spaniards) the Emperor has recently received letters from his daughter [Joanna of Austria, Princess of Portugal, Regent of Spain] and from the council of Spain, saying it is necessary that either he or his son should go to her speedily, as written by me heretofore.

His Majesty having been long petitioned, and being now importuned to hold the consultation about rewards and favours, he yesterday told his chamber attendants to desire everybody in the court to be of good cheer, as on the return from England of Secretary Erasso everything will be settled; and I hear on good authority that, besides the other causes which moved the Emperor to send him, one was that he might ascertain the wish and opinion of King Philip about going to Spain or remaining in these provinces; and that the Flemings and nearly all the Spaniards at Brussels unanimously persuade the Emperor to send him, adducing, amongst many other reasons, that in like manner as the Emperor is more beloved in the Netherlands, and better able to wage war on the King of France and maintain it, so will his son, being more popular with the Spaniards, suffice better for the necessary business in Spain, and for the government of the country, as also for the transmission hither of money, and for attacks on France in the direction of Perpignan; but that certain servants of the Emperor, who are supposed not to be biassed by interested motives like the others, have said that *nothing could be more dishonourable for the Emperor and the King than for the latter to go to Spain, as the world would infer that the marriage with the Queen of England, and the consequent results anticipated by them, were about to end in disappointment, and that this disgrace might be followed by serious loss, as were the Emperor to die in the Netherlands during the King's absence, it might come to pass that, what with his present unpopularity with the Netherlanders, and their great inclination towards France, the taking possession of the country would be too difficult an undertaking for him; in addition to which they affirm that the Emperor having been so many years absent from Spain, he would more easily obtain the subsidies desired by their Majesties.*

The Emperor continues drinking the water of the springs (*bagni*) of Liège [Spa?], having posted twelve mules on the road, that he may receive it every 24 hours, and he will continue taking it for another fortnight; and his physicians having also given him fair

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hopes that it may benefit him in various ways, he regulating his diet, he now adopts a good mode of life.

Brussels, 24th July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

July 28.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

165. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Lord Courtenay has received letters from his lady mother in England, informing him that Don Ruy Gomez, both spontaneously as it were, and moreover by order of his King (*et come da se et ancho di ordine di quella Maestà*), let her know that he has cause to be easy in his mind (*di stare con l'animo quieto*), as his Majesty loves him, and will soon show it by matter of fact; so his Lordship is no longer so intent on obtaining the licence to depart for Italy, and several persons tell him that, should the Queen not have heirs, the Emperor will favour the marriage between him and the Queen's sister, in order that there may be successors to the English crown; and he has requested audience of his Majesty, who promised it him for to-day or to-morrow, but it is not known for what purpose he made the demand.

Brussels, 28th July 1555.

[*Italian.*]

July 29.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

166. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 23rd the Secretary Erasso arrived, whose coming was universally believed to relate solely to the treatment of many matters now in course between King Philip and the Emperor, as also to the negotiations for peace, to the loans and supplies of money, to his Majesty's passage to Flanders, and to the Emperor's voyage to Spain; but it has been impossible hitherto to learn anything farther, as perhaps until now no decision has been formed.

At present, with regard to the negotiation for peace, they have taken time until the return of the Duke of Savoy, without whose intervention they can apparently form no resolve; yet in the meanwhile, Cardinal Pole does not fail treating and examining several conventions, so as at least to keep the affair alive, and facilitate the adjustment; his Right Reverend Lordship having last week sent the Abbot of San Saluto backwards and forwards repeatedly from Richmond to Hampton Court to the Chancellor and the other royal counsellors, sometimes to the French Ambassador [in London], and sometimes to the Spanish Ambassador resident here [at Richmond], there having also come to him, since Erasso's return, besides the said Spanish Ambassador, the Duke of Medina Celi, one of the Emperor's principal commissioners at the conference of Calais; and three days ago the Cardinal went in person to the palace [at Hampton Court], but the only particular I could learn was, that the French Ambassador and his brother, having said that they were merely commissioned to listen to proposals and transmit account

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of them, have been requested to obtain a free commission from their King, or else that his Majesty do send some other person with power to approve or disapprove of whatever may be proposed from day to day, in order not to have to despatch couriers about each separate proposal and await the reply from France, thus losing so much time. Not only did they promise thus to do, but moreover made an offer for their King that he would consent to send hither anew (*di novo*) some of his chief ministers, with sufficient authority, provided the Emperor also did the like; but, as already mentioned, this absence of the Duke of Savoy suspends any decision, and should it be unreasonably protracted, I am told on good authority that in that case, with but little regard for him, a truce might be concluded, towards which it is seen that King Philip and his most Christian Majesty are more than moderately inclined.

The courier sent by the French Ambassador to Scotland for sure news of the Danish fleet has not yet returned, a sign that there is no mischief, as confirmed by letters thence of the 14th and 15th instant, in addition to the statement of several persons who have come from Scotland, and say that the fleet scarcely showed itself, nor did it approach any Scottish harbour; so some people add, that it was [mere] surmise, as a certain number of the vessels seen appeared to be fishing boats rather than a fleet (*armata*). Thus the English and Scots, even should there have been any secret understanding, are, or seem to be, devoid of any farther suspicion.

The Polish Ambassador, besides having received handsome presents from both their Majesties, took back the decision (*espeditione*) he asked for, it having been promised him that for the future not only should this new Muscovite navigation [company] not be permitted, but be forbidden under heavy penalties, the exportation hence to those parts of any sort of arms or military engine, in order that the Duke of Muscovy,* who is always at war with his King, may not be able to avail himself of such instruments against him, which would have been much to his detriment; so the ambassador went away.

Two of the chief personages in Sicily, the Marquis of Terra Nova† [Caraccioli] and the Marquis of Gierace, have come hither, the latter to remain permanently with the King, intending to make a great display, and Terra Nuova, after kissing his Majesty's hand, will go back.

The Count of Sta. Fior and the Cardinal Chamberlain [Guido Ascanio Sforza] have sent their brother the Signor Paulo [Sforza] to serve his Majesty as gentleman of the mouth (*gentilhomme della bocca*).

The Queen is as well as ever she was. Has communicated the summaries received in the Signory's letters of the 6th instant.

Richmond, 29th July 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Joan IV. [Vasilevitch.] (See letter to him from King Philip and Queen Mary, 1557, April, in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, p. 300.)

† For other notices of this Sicilian nobleman, see Foreign Calendar, Mary—Index.

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July 31.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**167. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

Adds these few lines by way of Brussels, availing himself of the return to the Emperor of Secretary Erasso and of Don Ruy Gomez de Silva, who is sent by King Philip not merely to give account of current affairs between his Majesty and the Emperor with regard to present necessities, he being in the King's secret confidence, but what matters more, to provide against the disturbances which have taken place in Spain, it having been heard lately that the Aragonese have risen against the father-in-law of said Don Ruy Gomez, the Viceroy of Aragon, Count of Melito, who, from fear of the insurrection, took flight and concealed himself; so the whole province was in uproar and confusion. Respecting King Philip's passage across the Channel, although as yet it is considered doubtful, the general opinion being that it will not take place until they witness the result of the delivery, which might cause much delay, it is, nevertheless, said by some persons that the interview will not be protracted beyond the return of said Don Ruy Gomez, it being asserted that for this purpose the Emperor has now determined to go to Bruges, which if true, the Signory will receive more authentic notice of the fact from their ambassador at the Imperial court.

Yesterday the English commissioners for the conference of Calais had a long interview with Cardinal Pole [at Richmond] about proposals for the agreement, and to-day the Abbot of San Saluto returned to the court [at Hampton Court] to speak with the King before the departure of Don Ruy Gomez; so the Doge will perceive that matters are being warmed-up (*che le cose si riscaldano*), though it is impossible to learn anything about the negotiation, either from one side or the other. News has been received to-day from several quarters of an insurrection in Warwickshire? (Arraschier) (sic) 100 miles hence, on account of the religion, and that a number of men have mustered in arms, not choosing any other form than such as was left them by King Henry, which in other respects, save in its obedience to the Apostolic See, is Catholic; and as the Earl of Pembroke was sent for to the court immediately, it is supposed to be for the purpose of applying a remedy before the thing take root and be yet more encouraged, as there are apprehensions of other disturbances in Devonshire and Cornwall.

Richmond, 31st July 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

July 31.

Parti Comuni
Consiglio X.
vol. xxii. p. 37,
tergo.**168. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN in favour of a Venetian Secretary who had served in England.**

Put to the ballot, that Giovanni Francesco Franceschi, who served first as secretary to the nobleman Marino Cavalli, knight, ambassador to the Emperor, and was subsequently secretary to the nobleman Giacomo Soranzo, knight, ambassador in England, be given 20 ducats.

Ayes, 17. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[Latin.]

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July 31.

Parti Comuni
Consiglio X.
vol. xxii. p. 37.

169. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN at the suit of PETER VANNES.

That at the request of the reverend ambassador of the most Serene King of England, license to carry arms in this city and in all our towns and places during the next two months be given to the under-written English noblemen.

The Earl of Bedford.

Sir John Chichester.

Thomas and Clement, their servants.

Mr. William Godolphin.

John Broke.

Thomas Rayme (*sic*).

John Eustace.

Ayes, 15. No, 1. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]Anthony Trulo (*sic*), Trewlock,
or Trewlove?

Thomas Fitzwilliam.

Thomas Wyndham.

John Morley.

Thomas Toylson.

Henry Kingismel (*sic*).

John Rug.

Aug. 1.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

170. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Secretary Erasso, who was sent by the Emperor to England, writes to his Majesty that he found the King determined to go in person to Spain, and thinks that his chief chamberlain Don Ruy Gomez inclined him to this resolve, and well nigh established it, which, according to the Spaniards, greatly displeased his Majesty, and all the ministers, who, judging the matter impartially, consider it more for the dignity, honour, and need of both their Majesties' interests, that the Emperor should go to Spain, and the King come to reside in Flanders; the Bishop of Arras having said that by Erasso's next letters they will know the day of the King's departure on his way to the Emperor, and subsequently it will be decided which of the two goes to Spain.

Brussels, 1st August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1.

Lettere Capi
Consiglio X.,
File No. 40.

171. The CHIEFS of the TEN to the SIGNORY'S GOVERNORS of the Venetian Provinces, and their other Representatives.

Yesterday, they, with their Council of Ten, conceded a license to the within written English noblemen to carry arms for the next two months in Venice, and in all their towns and places. They therefore, by said Council's authority, charge all and each of their governors and representatives to observe with regard to them the Council's aforesaid concession.

The Earl of Bedford.

Sir John Chichester.

Thomas and Clement, their servants.

Mr. William Godolphin.

John Broke.

Thomas Reyme.

John Eustace.

Anthony Trulo.

Thomas Fitzwilliam.

Thomas Windham.

Henry Kingismel (*sic*).

John Morley.

Thomas Trytson.

John Rugge.

Vigore partis.[*Italian.*]

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August 2.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
vol. lxix. p. 136.

**172. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN BAILO at CON-
STANTINOPLE.**

Their last letters from England are dated the 9th ulto., nor down to that time had the Queen been delivered. The Bailo is to communicate these advice as usual.

Ayes, 191. Nocs, 3. Neutral, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

**173. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Em-
peror, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

By order of the Emperor, a servant of Lord Paget's, who came hither from France, and is a native of these provinces, has been arrested on suspicion of being a spy, passing himself off for an Englishman, speaking that language as fluently as his own and the French; and from a person capable of knowing it, I have heard that his Majesty not only no longer places that trust in Lord Paget which he used to have, but bears him great hatred, both because he has discovered that at the late conference he communicated beforehand to the French commissioners what the Imperialists told him in confidence they purposed proposing, as also because for a long while he wrote constantly to a friend of his at this court that the Queen was not really pregnant.

An intimate servant of Lord Courtenay's has been wounded mortally and premeditatedly by a Spaniard; and on two other occasions twelve other Spaniards having picked a quarrel with his Lordship's attendants, they were in one instance pursued to his own chamber, which pained him beyond measure; he having told a person in his confidence, that he is compelled to believe either that these Spaniards persecute his servants to avenge injuries received in England, or that they have perhaps had some order to raise such frequent disputes with his attendants, that he himself may at length encounter the misfortune which is wished him; adding, that he suspects these injuries will be repaid to upwards of a hundred Spaniards in England; nor would he demand justice either of Queen Maria or of the Bishop of Arras, saying that they cannot but know too well the effect which would be produced by the arrival there of such a report, the persons being not merely Englishmen but his own servants; and he departed for Louvain, saying he should remain some days for his pleasure, as not caring whether he had audience of the Emperor one week or another, he would have it on his return (*perchè non importandoli haver l'audientia da Sua Maestà Ces.^a più una settimana che l'altra l'haverà poi*). The Bishop of Arras hearing of the circumstance, and being told how much Courtenay resented it, sent immediately to desire the person charged with the affairs of justice to investigate the matter, and report upon it to Queen Maria.

The Duke of Ferrara wrote a letter to the secretary whom he kept here before the arrival of the Ambassador, commissioning him to visit Lord Courtenay and to make him the greatest and most particular offers imaginable, inviting him to go and remain awhile in his territory on his passage into Italy.

1555.

The fleet of 18 sail from Portugal has arrived in Zealand, and besides bringing spices, sugar, wine, and other merchandise, it has about 100,000 crowns in money for private individuals.

Brussels, 4th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

174. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the departure of Don Ruy Gomez, their Majesties, three days ago, proceeded to the little village of Oatlands, four miles farther from London,* not merely to give opportunity for the cleansing of Hampton Court, where they have remained so long a while, and of which the place had very great need, *but on another more important account, and perhaps a more necessary one, which, although no one dares to proclaim it, is nevertheless tacitly understood by everybody; and it will be well for the Doge to enjoin such secrecy on the subject as is due for many reasons.*

The fact is, that the move has been made in order no longer to keep the people of England in suspense about this delivery, by the constant and public processions which were made, and by the Queen's remaining so many days in retirement, seriously to the prejudice of her subjects; as not only did she transact no business, but would scarcely allow herself to be seen by any but the ladies, who, in expectation of this childbirth, especially the gentlewomen and the chief female nobility, had flocked to the court from all parts of the kingdom in such very great number, all living at the cost of her Majesty, that with great difficulty could Hampton Court, although one of the largest palaces that can be seen here or elsewhere, contain them. At present by this change of residence an opportunity is afforded for dispensing with the processions without any scandal, and for the Queen to free herself from expense, by giving permission to the greater part of these ladies to return to their homes, under pretence of very limited accommodation; and by degrees her Majesty has resumed the audiences and replaced other matters in their former ancient state, the usual officials (I am told) resuming their service about her person, and the females being removed.

All this has been done in order that by this release (allargamento), without proceeding to any farther formal announcement, all persons may of themselves clearly comprehend that the hope of childbirth has so diminished that but little reliance can now be any longer placed on it, and that all must take patience (si aquieti), as has been the case with the chief personages here, and their Majesties' other intimates, who, as told me several days ago on high authority (da alto loco), perceiving not only that her Majesty's belly did not increase, but rather diminished, have come to the conclusion, although they have hitherto dissembled it, that the pregnancy will end in wind rather than anything else (sia

* The departure of the court from Hampton Court for Oatlands took place on the 3rd of August. (See Machyn's Diary, p. 92.)

1555.

più presto per convertirsi in vento che in altro), *although it is said, for the sake of keeping the populace in hope, and consequently in check, and very judiciously asserted constantly by those most intimate with their Majesties, that the Queen is in her sixth or seventh month; but the result of this [rumour] likewise will soon be cleared up, as it is not a thing that can long be concealed.*

The reported insurrections in the provinces, and which caused so much apprehension some days ago, their origin having subsequently been ascertained authentically, were found to be slight and unimportant, part having arisen from a great concourse of men at a grand periodical fair (*un solenne mercato che ordinariamente si fa*) held in Warwickshire? (*nel paese di Arraschier*) (*sic*), when, on account of the price of wheat, which had been raised extraordinarily by certain persons, who having a great supply wished to sell it in their own fashion, by reason of the backward season and the small hope of the present harvest, the summer being so rainy and cold, that the like is not remembered in the memory of man for the last 50 years, so that no sort of grain or corn ripens, and still less can it be reaped, a prognostic of scarcity yet greater than that of last year; so that in part from this, owing to the murmurs and complaints of the multitude, which were construed into rebellion, and partly from a report circulated in Cornwall and Devonshire that the most Serene Queen was dead, and that to deceive the people, as they said was done in the time of King Edward, they exhibited her effigy at the casement and not her real face; so having half rebelled (*mezzo ammutinati*), they said they would come towards the court to ascertain the fact. These disturbances were also caused in part by a gentleman, who, being on bad terms with his tenants, who had risen against him, and not knowing in what other way to suppress the outbreak, sent word to the court that they were in arms against the Queen; and the falsehood being discovered, he, together with eight others who originated the reports of the other unreal insurrections, were deservedly imprisoned, everything, thank God, remaining quiet and peaceable.

By the enclosed advice the Doge will see the progress of the Danish fleet, the document having been obtained by the ambassador, from an individual with whom he is very intimate, and one of the chief personages in England.

On the Queen's departure hence,* leave was given to "Miladi" Elizabeth to withdraw with all her attendants to a house distant three-miles from her Majesty's; and on the Queen's expected return to Hampton Court in eight or ten days, it is supposed that said "Miladi" will not come back again, but either remain where she is, or go to another of her palaces (*un altro suo palazzo*), as she is completely free.

Richmond, 5th August 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* That is, from Hampton Court.

1555.

Aug. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

175. NEWS-LETTER from a MEMBER of the ENGLISH COUNCIL OF STATE to the DUKE of ALVA, concerning the Danish Fleet.

Although your Excellency will have heard about the Danish fleet from another quarter, I will, nevertheless, not omit telling you that King Christian armed 40 ships, on board of which, having embarked 3,000 infantry, he sent them towards the north-west, without its being known to any person whatever, not even to the commanders themselves of the fleet, what expedition it was intended to make, as he put into their hands the sealed commission, with orders not to open it until under sail towards the N.W.

The said fleet having made Scotland, the Queen there [Mary of Lorraine] being alarmed, commanded everybody throughout the kingdom to be prepared and in [marching] order, and sent soldiers (*diverse genti et soldati*) to the most suspected places, and despatched a herald to the captain of said ships, inquiring whether he was come there as a friend or an enemy. He replied that he came as a friend, but was driven there by stress of weather; and he sent one of his gentlemen to visit her with a demand for some supplies (*commodità*) and victuals, &c., which were furnished him; and on setting sail the contrary winds drove him to the Orkney Isles, where he yet is; but it having been discovered that he was bound for the island of Walcheren, obtained by the Emperor, where by this time due provision will have been made, and the said fleet having lost much time, the expedition can no longer succeed.

London ? 5th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

176. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before their Majesties' departure from Hampton Court the Legate went again to the palace, not so much for the purpose of conferring with the Queen about the resolve formed together with her councillors concerning the restitution of the Church revenues held by the Crown, as in order to discuss the peace, Cardinal Pole having this question no less at heart for the general good of Christendom, than the restitution of the Church property for the individual benefit of England. *Although unable to learn the precise point of the discussion, believes it to be the same as was subsequently debated to-day, when the Lords Commissioners came and dined [at Richmond] with his Right Reverend Lordship, who also invited the French Ambassador and his brother; and when they were all alone together, the said commissioners made no slight complaint, in the name of Queen Mary, about a writing published in France, and announced throughout the realm in the King's name to his rear-bands, whereby he exculpates himself, and shows that it was not his fault if the peace, negotiated at Calais, failed to take effect, as he on his part was willing to accept any terms, even less than fair; whereas on the other hand he accuses the Emperor and abuses him grossly (et gravemente lo incarica), laying all the*

1555.

blame on his obstinacy and harshness, with a view not only to render his Imperial Majesty more unpopular in his dominions, but to justify himself, and prove that he [King Henry] does not continue the war by choice, but from necessity. The mediators, therefore, having taken occasion from this proclamation, which they said was utterly at variance with the truth, expressed themselves moreover haughtily (*altamente*), making a semi-protest of rupture, unless, on resuming the negotiation, matters came to such a good end as due, all for the sake of rendering them [the French] more accommodating and tractable about the negotiation than they have been hitherto. Has been unable to hear what reply the ambassador made, still less the agreement come to between them, but it was finally settled to await the Emperor's commands, whether in case the business be continued here, he will send fresh commissioners or change those now here, to notify his pleasure to King Philip, the French having offered that in this matter his most Christian Majesty will abide by the Emperor's decision. Believes this to be the present state of the case, and at the latest, the decision will be known on the return of Don Ruy Gomez, when he (the ambassador) will transmit the most exact account he can of this and all the other events.

On the return of this personage it will also be known whether his Majesty's passage across the Channel is to take place now, or to be deferred until another time, many people being of opinion, and thus is it already said in public, that as the time draws nigh for the meeting of the *Cortes* of Castille and Aragon, for whose sessions, by reasons of the great toil and trouble to be endured there, the Emperor's presence is ill adapted, he being so feeble and indisposed as he is, King Philip himself may go thither, and shortly; it being, moreover, necessary to provide against many illegal proceedings, especially for this last in Aragon, which proceeded from the viceroy there, contrary to the statutes, having caused a man to be put to death on a charge of exporting and causing the exportation of horses from Spain to France, for the maintenance of which statutes the Doge knows how united and well disposed the Aragonese are, their entire liberty depending thereon; so it is no wonder they have risen at present, as they also did the like heretofore.

Should it, therefore, come to pass that on this or other accounts his Majesty should go to Spain, requests the Doge to tell him what he is to do, as he was desired by the Signory's despatches dated in December last to leave his secretary here, and to follow his Majesty, no other journey than that of Flanders or Italy being then spoken of.

Many days ago King Philip appointed Don Luis Vanega ambassador to the Kings of the Romans [Ferdinand] and of Bohemia [Maximilian],* to condole with them on the death of the Queen of Spain, but delayed his departure, hoping that he might convey the news of Queen Mary's delivery, and thus perform two errands

* The Archduke Maximilian had already assumed the title of King of Bohemia on the 10th September 1550. (See Foreign Calendar under that date, p. 54.)

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in one journey ; but will now defer no longer, and sent him off to-day.

Richmond, 6th August 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher ; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 7.

177. CARDINAL POLE to HENRY II., KING of FRANCE.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

By the King's letter and from the statement made in his name by the Prothonotary De Noailles, was informed that his Majesty has taken in good part the office performed by Pole at the congress, the prothonotary also giving assurance that his Majesty is well inclined towards the continuation of this negotiation, and will never reject any terms which he can accept with honour. Although Pole has heard this very willingly, nevertheless, considering how long a time it is since the King has always evinced the same desire, notwithstanding which Christendom finds itself not only not relieved from the many evils and troubles which accompany war, but yet more heavily burdened by them, he cannot but with great pain suppose this to be a judgment and punishment of Divine justice, nor can anything comfort him, save the belief that God having given the King, amongst the royal virtues, magnanimity and moderation, his Majesty will consent to their making the peace in such a way and on such conditions as may fitly be proposed to magnanimous Princes endowed with moderation, and that he will accept them. Is the more convinced that this is the will of God, as when pondering the particular difficulties of the peace, he does not see any one of them which may not be easily removed by the combination of these two virtues ; a peace being thus made most glorious and advantageous to himself and to his kingdom, and one yielding greater comfort to all Christendom than any that has been stipulated since many centuries. In coming to the conclusion of this peace, mention is made of some restitution ; Pole knows that this word may at first sight seem rather disagreeable, not conveying any idea either of that advantage or honour which all Princes generally anticipate on making peace after such successes as have been hitherto obtained by his Majesty ; but the affairs of Christendom are now in such a state that by his making the proposed restitution in such a way as to effect the quiet of Italy, this so called restitution will in reality be a greater gain, honour, and profit, and contribute more to the security of France than any he could make by war, and by retaining that which all Italy universally wishes to have restored. As Pole does not know how it may please the King to give ear to this, he will merely add that his wish would be for him to have more honour than was ever had by Charlemagne, a King so renowned and glorious amongst the ancestors of his Majesty ; and should he choose to regulate the treaty of peace in a form becoming a king of such moderation and magnanimity as he is, and as Charlemagne did in a case which was not dissimilar, it may be hoped for to his honour and praise, he simultaneously procuring for his kingdom great advantage and security ; nor will Pole fail to pray for this, as he constantly does, that God may give him

1555.

this supreme grace, offering his service for whatever may effect this end.

Richmond, 7th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

178. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Secretary Erasso has returned from England and informed the Emperor that the Queen, having scrupulously (*studiosamente*) discussed the affair of the peace with the gentleman sent by the most Christian King, could merely elicit that his King is well disposed towards the peace, and that it will take place should the Emperor accept the terms already proposed by the French Commissioners.

Erasso told the Emperor that King Philip had determined to send Ruy Gomez hither, to acquaint him with his desire (*volontà*) to go to Spain, and the necessity for it, and with the time and mode of his coming to the Emperor. A letter was sent for Don Ruy Gomez to the place where he had been detained by fever, and on his arrival here, by advice of the physicians he was blooded, notwithstanding which he went yesterday to the Emperor, and told him that according to the letters received by the King from Spain, he comprehends the necessity for one or the other of them to go thither; and with regard to the King's coming to Brussels, he said his Majesty desired it beyond measure to escape from the great and constant distress in which he found himself (*per uscire delle grandi et continue afflizioni nelli quali si ritrovava*), but that he was intent principally on two things; the one, to leave the Queen firmly convinced that he would always continue to love her most dearly, and come back shortly to remain with her, she showing that she would not consent to his departure, either mentally or verbally; the other, to devise means for returning without difficulty, so as not to have thrown away so much money, time, toil, and repute; suggesting also, that as Lord Courtenay had been made to come to Brussels, so should the Queen's sister, the Lady Elizabeth, be removed from England. The Emperor, on hearing these things, sent for Queen Maria, the Bishop of Arras, and M. de Praet, and after a consultation of three, * the Emperor decided that the King was to come hither as soon as he can * [convinced?] the Queen of his speedy return, leaving her better satisfied that * [he is to bring?] with him certain Englishmen suspected of illwill towards their Majesties * [and to endeavour?] to induce (*per ridur*) the Lady Elizabeth to come and reside with these Queens; † the whole to be effected cautiously, so as not to cause commotion. This resolve (*la qual volontà*) of the Emperor will be communicated to King Philip by Secretary Erasso, and not by Don Ruy Gomez, who by reason of his indisposition could not make this journey without risking his life, but he

* MS. corroded and illegible.

† Eleanor of Austria, Queen Dowager of France, and Maria of Austria, Queen Dowager of Hungary.

1555.

has sent his secretary to tell the King this, and to give him account of what he has treated with the Emperor. No determination has yet been made about the going to Spain of one or other of their Majesties, and it is generally said that the King will go, being thus advised by the Flemings and Spaniards, with the exception of a few of either nation who blame this advice, and accuse all those who give it of doing so for their own private interest.

Lord Courtenay, having returned from Louvain, went immediately to visit Don Ruy Gomez, requesting he would obtain from King Philip leave for him to go and see Italy. Don Ruy Gomez replied that he expected His Majesty here in the course of the month, and that Courtenay would obtain everything possible from him, adding all sorts of loving language (*ogni sorte di amorevoli parole*). *It has been told me by Don Juan Menzi (sic), a Spanish knight, that Lord Courtenay will be compelled either to accompany the King to Spain, or be sent in custody to Sicily, without giving any hint or notice of it, and that the like will befall the Lady Elizabeth as befell the Duke of Calabria,* whom they sent to Spain and allowed him to marry, when his children could cause the Emperor no trouble.*

Lord Paget has written to the Bishop of Arras thanking him for his courtesy in giving him notice of the arrest of the individual from France who passed himself off for his servant, and as to the information required by the Bishop about him, affirms to his having been heretofore in his, Lord Paget's, service, and that he does not know him to have any other defect than immoderate love of wine, which injures his intellects; that should, any mischievous design enter his head, he would have ability to execute it well, and he recommends him to the Bishop's justice, adding that, as a reward for his good . . . [service?], he gave him a letter of recommendation for M. de Vendôme, as he was going into Picardy on certain business of his own; so the Bishop, after causing him to be examined, ordered his release, it having merely transpired by the reply of M. de Vendôme that he had been desired by the King of France, on hearing of the certificate and recommendation, to do what was requested as a mark of his constant wish to oblige Lord Paget.

Brussels, 8th August 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 9.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

179. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

Several months have elapsed since Pole has had letters from Morone, save of the sort which God is wont to write in works for the benefit of his servants,† as Morone has done by his labours for the service of England and their Majesties, who, from their ambassadors, and by what was written to Pole himself by his agent, have heard with much pleasure what he did in this matter, and retain a

* Ferdinand of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, who died in 1559. He married, first, Germaine de Foix (widow of Ferdinand the Catholic), who died 1538, and in 1539 he took for his second wife Mencía de Mendoza. (See Chiusole Genealogies, p. 614.)

† Se non di quella sorte che Dio suole con le opere scriver in beneficio delli soi servi.

1555.

very grateful recollection of it, as Pole hopes Morone will know by facts when the opportunity presents itself. At present Pole is induced to write by two things of some importance; the one is, that though he had the Queen's promise about the free renunciation of the Church property upwards of four months ago, and her Majesty at the same time charged certain members of the Council, fearing God and of good conscience, to confer with Pole to give him sure information about the quality and quantity of this property, as he required, and this took place some months ago; yet, notwithstanding every entreaty, and a fresh command from their Majesties, it was impossible to obtain this renunciation in an authentic form until a week since, when, for many reasons which cannot well be written, he thought fit not to delay making the dispensation (*la dispensa*), and concluded it in such form as Morone will perceive by the accompanying copy,* together with a certain instruction containing the substance of the whole. Hopes the Pope will be satisfied with it, as a great acquisition has been made since his Holiness' confirmation of the late acts (*cose passate*), which dispensed (*dispensava*) in the form now adopted, and may be followed in other cases likewise, whereas had it been done in the form required by rigid justice (*esatta giustizia*), to which their Majesties never seem to make any opposition, not only would the form have been rejected in subsequent acts, but it would have been so disputed as to impede the execution, and any subsequent modification would have endangered what has been accomplished hitherto. This may be seen by what some members of the Council commenced attempting when they first heard of this free renunciation intended by their Majesties; they opposed it, saying that what by the consent of Parliament had been assigned to the Crown could not be renounced by the Queen without the Parliament's consent; but becoming acquainted with the moderation with which Pole purposed proceeding, they were pacified, and at length, after many difficulties which arose subsequently, the business was settled, as Morone will perceive by the information aforesaid.

The second thing which Pole has to tell Morone occurred after this settlement. The King warned him that some members of the Council had already commenced murmuring greatly about the revocatory bull (*bolla revocatoria*)† concerning the late alienations, &c., as if the things here were likewise comprised therein (*come se in esse se comprendesseno anco le cose qui*), and that unless this suspicion were removed it might cause some great scandal, so it would be well for the matter to be kept secret, no one knowing it as yet save the Queen's secretary, who was the person who spoke about it to the King. His Majesty discussing the matter with Pole, in the presence of the Queen, she immediately rejoined that there was no occasion to trust to secrecy, but to apply a remedy; whereupon Pole answered that it had been already applied by Cardinal Morone, vice-protector [of England at Rome],

* The copy does not exist in the manuscript.

† Immediately on his accession, Paul IV. issued a bull about the alienation of Church property in general. (See Panvinio's Lives of the Popes, p. 687.)

1555.

who, perceiving the suspicion which might arise, had warned the Pope (although it is seen by the bull that his Holiness had not in view the things done in England) (*le cose fatte qui*), who, for the removal of any scruple, had ordered another bull to be drawn up, adapted to the affairs here in England, and that Pole was expecting it by the next courier from Rome. Should it not have been despatched, he requests Morone to send it forthwith,* and to pray the Pope to confirm this last dispensation given by Pole according to the desire of their Majesties, which being done, he hopes that thenceforth matters in England will proceed more quietly. Refers himself for the rest to the letters of Messer Gio. Francesco and of the Abbot of San Saluto.

Richmond, 9th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

180. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

In a former letter congratulated him on his being elected Cardinal, nor in rejoinder to his most gracious reply, dated 16th July, will he do more than return thanks for its loving expressions.

Caraffa's letter was accompanied by three briefs addressed to Pole by the Pope, and one for their Majesties, to whom he immediately presented it, acquainting them with what the Pope told him, and with what he heard by Caraffa's letter, and through his own agent, of his Holiness' great desire for the peace, and how much he promised himself from their piety in this and every other matter. This seemed to give them much pleasure, and to make them anticipate every paternal office from his Holiness for the quiet and advantage of Christendom, and of England in particular, they being extremely satisfied with the ample testimony of this his disposition, as demonstrated by his reception and despatch of their ambassadors.†

With regard to the peace, Caraffa will have heard, as Pole wrote to the Pope, that the French ambassador's brother, Prothonotary de Noailles, came to England to thank the Queen on behalf of the most Christian King for her good offices about the peace, towards which his Majesty seems still well disposed, and would be glad that this negotiation should be continued, so as to produce some good result; and with Pole also he performed the like office. This being made known to the Emperor, the answer purported that he also was well disposed, if the peace could be made on fair and fitting terms; after which reply the French ambassador and the prothonotary, with the Chancellor and the other two personages who were sent by the Queen to the congress, conferred with Pole, who told the ambassador and the prothonotary what had been received from the Emperor, and how he held to the proposal made at the conference about the restoration of the Duke of Savoy. After much general conversation, in which it is easy for all sides to agree, it was settled to think of finding ways and means to facilitate the conclusion of this business,

* See Froude, vol. 6, pp. 391, 392 (ed. London, 1860).

† The English ambassadors had their first audience of Paul IV. on the 10th June 1555, and seem to have left Rome on the 20th of the month. (See Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. 1, pp. 96, 100.)

1555.

it being hoped that the arrival of the Duke at Brussels, as also the summer season, might be of use, and that by stopping the war on land and sea, some good conclusion might be effected. Pole does not fail doing what he can for this purpose, and although certain that the Pope will have acquainted the King of France with his good disposition, will let the French ambassador know the orders received by him from his Holiness in this matter, to attend to it with all diligence, it being most worthy of the Pope to provide for these disorders, as written by Caraffa, and as expected by all Christendom.

With regard to Pole himself it is not necessary for him to say how readily he will always obey and serve his Holiness in whatever he shall be pleased to command him, as he has already informed the Pope, and according to the commission given by him subsequently to the Bishop of St. Asaph [Thomas Goldwell], who departed hence on his way to Rome on the 2nd ult. to confirm this, giving the Pope at the same time full information about the state of affairs in England, that he may be the better able to give Pole his commands. It does not seem fit to him farther to intrude his opinion in this matter, although his Holiness is pleased to ask it through Caraffa's letter, and, to save the Pope trouble, will say nothing more in reply to the brief, whereby he vouchsafed [to answer] three alone of the letters which Pole has written him,* and will merely pray Caraffa humbly to kiss his feet in Pole's name for the graciousness evinced towards him, both in the said brief and also in the one written by his Holiness to their Majesties.

Has given the Bishop of Worcester [Richard Pate] the papal brief, accompanying it with ample assurance of his Holiness being satisfied with him, and ready to prove it by facts. Diomede Caraffa has had his request fully granted by King Philip, and is now on the eve of departure from England. Pole will perform the same office with the Emperor as he did with the King, assuring him of the Pope's regard for Diomede, who, from what Pole hears and sees, is in excellent conceit with their Majesties, as due to his ability (*virtù*), and to the long and faithful service rendered by him to his Imperial Majesty.

Richmond, 10th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

181. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England has sent his chief purveyor (*forrier maggiore*) to the Emperor, with letters from his sister the Queen of Bohemia,† complaining extremely of not having been able to obtain from him or her father, notwithstanding her entreaties, the sum due on account of her mother's dower;‡ adding that her consort King

* Non le scriverà altro in risposta del breve con quale si è degnata [di rispondere?] a tre mie sole epistole.

† Maria of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Charles V., married her cousin Maximilian on the 18th September 1548. (See *L'Art de vérifier les Dates.*)

‡ Per conto della dote della madre.

1555.

Maximilian, for this reason, and moreover because he could not get the provision assigned him for his board by the Emperor, is ill disposed towards both their Majesties. To mitigate this anger, and provide for what is due to his daughter, the Emperor is said to have found means to send her shortly 60,000 crowns, which news will be conveyed to her postwise by this purveyor, in the Emperor's name and that of the King.

Three ambassadors have arrived, one from the Duke of Mantua to reside with the Emperor, the other two from the Milanese, who will depart to-day on their way to England to complain to the King both of the military force (*l'armata*) required by the Duke of Alva, and of other intolerable demands to which he has subjected that territory.

A report circulated here at the court on the authority of letters from Antwerp, that King Maximilian, King of Bohemia, had by many signs displayed Lutheran opinions, which very greatly surprised and displeased the Emperor, who, having received letters from his brother assuring him that this was false, ordered the report to be contradicted by his chamber attendants (*dalli suoi della camera*). It was subsequently reported that Queen Maria will go to the King of the Romans (he. by reason of his affairs, and on several accounts, being unable to come to the Emperor), as it is requisite to settle matters of very great importance between them, but that this decision will not be made until the coming hither of the King of England, on account of whose coming, and for the need of the army, the Emperor has had a loan negotiated at Antwerp for 150,000 crowns, which will be disbursed by several German and Genoese merchants; it is not said on what security, nor at what rate of interest, but it is considered settled, and the arrival from Seville of the 300,000 crowns is expected daily.

Brussels, 11th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

182. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The office performed by the English mediators in the presence of Cardinal Pole with the French ambassador and his brother, consisted in a remonstrance against the writing published in France, with this in addition, that King Henry was to be told in the Queen's name, that should he wish for any adjustment, it would be requisite for him to send hither a person with sufficient authority, not merely to treat, but also to offer and propose some better form of convention than was proposed by the mediators, or than they would ever be able to imagine; and that his most Christian Majesty should send credentials to the prothonotary to this effect. To the first part, touching the complaint about the writing, the ambassador said that neither he or his brother knew anything of its contents, but even were it such as the mediators represented it to be, it ought not to surprise them, as neither the King nor any other prince should fail doing or saying whatever turned to his account, regardless of any one, and least of all of the

Maximilian, for this reason, and moreover, because he could not get the provision assigned him for his land by the Emperor, is ill disposed towards both their Majesties. To mitigate this anger, and provide for what is due to his daughter, the Emperor is said to have found means to send her nearly 60,000 crowns, which sum will be conveyed to her postwise by the purveyor, in the Emperor's name and that of the King.

Three ambassadors have arrived, one from the Duke of Mantua to reside with the Emperor, the other two from the Milanese, who will depart to-day on their way to England to complain to the King both of the military force (Garrisons) retained by the Duke of Aosta, and of other intolerable demands to which he has subjected that territory.

A report circulated here at the court on the authority of letters from Antwerp, that King Maximilian, King of Bohemia, had by many signs displayed Italian opinions, which very greatly surprised and displeased the Emperor, who, having received letters from his brother assuring him that this was false, ordered the report to be contradicted by his chamber attendants (Chambellans) and others. It was subsequently reported that Queen Maria will go to the King of the Romans (her by reason of his affairs and on several accounts being unable to come to the Emperor), as it is requisite to settle matters of very great importance between them, but that this decision will not be made until the coming of the King of England, on account of whose coming, and for the need of the army, the Emperor has had a loan negotiated at Antwerp for 150,000 crowns, which will be disbursed by several German and Genoese merchants; it is not said on what security, nor at what rate of interest, but it is considered settled, and the arrival from Seville of the 300,000 crowns is expected daily.

Bremen, 11th August 1855.

[Italian.]

183. GIOVANNI MICHELLE, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Duke and Duchess.

The office performed by the English mediators in the presence of Cardinal Fole with the French ambassador and his brother, consisted in a remonstrance against the writings published in France, with this in addition, that King Henry was to be told in the Queen's name, that should he wish for any adjustment, it would be requisite for him to send either a person with sufficient authority, and merely to treat, but also to offer and propose some better form of contention than was proposed by the mediators, or that they would not be able to imagine; and that his most Christian Majesty should send credentials to the plenipotentiary to this effect. To the first point, touching the remonstrance about the writings, the ambassador said that neither he or his brother knew anything of its contents, but even were it such as the mediators represented it to be, it ought not to surprise them, as neither the King nor any other prince should feel doing or saying whatever seemed to his account, regardless of any one, and least of all of the

Aug. 12
Original
Despatch
Venetian
Archive

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enemy; and also because it contained nothing untrue, referring himself for the fact to the mediators, who were very well acquainted with all the past circumstances, and therefore knew whether the King, both by restitution and without it, and by referring the disputes and his claims to arbitration, would or would not have come to terms. Then, respecting the last part, that the King was to send a person with authority to treat, the prothonotary replied, as he had also said previously, that whenever they made a similar announcement to the Emperor, whatever his decision might be, both about the person [appointed to negotiate], as also with regard to the faculty, more ample, or more limited and restricted, the like would be formed by the King; but as to sending to propose and make any offer, he said, making a display of resentment, that on no account would he represent such a thing, not only because it was contrary to the will and intention and dignity of the King—who, although he desired the peace, and was willing to make it, did not seek, and still less solicit it—but because, by their order, he had lately written to the contrary, that his Majesty was to send a power to approve or reject the proposals of the arbitrators, and he therefore did not choose to be ridiculed by his Majesty, nor to be considered frivolous and indiscreet for having willingly consented to deliver such a message, and that therefore this letter of credence was unnecessary; but that if such was the Queen's intention, they could not do otherwise than put the proposal into writing, signing and sending it to the King as a paper from the Commissioners and not from the French ambassador. No further answer or rejoinder having been made by the mediators, the ambassador and the prothonotary took leave ill satisfied.

On the morrow, the 7th, Cardinal Pole, to give account of what had passed, and owing to the receipt of a despatch from Rome, went [from Richmond] to the Court [at Oatlands], the Pope having charged him, not merely strongly to urge the Queen to exhort King Philip to persevere in what he is doing, but adroitly to let it be understood that whichever of the sovereigns shall fail to come to fair terms, his Holiness, in virtue of his grade and office, cannot but evince such resentment as becoming towards that one who will have been the cause of so much detriment and ruin to Christendom.

Two days later, the prothonotary, accompanied by the ambassador his brother, went to the Queen to take leave on his return to France, it not seeming to him that he could any longer remain with honour to his King, there being no business or negotiation to detain him. The Queen spoke very graciously to him, giving assurance of her being well inclined to remain in peace and friendship with the King, and that she will not fail again to do her utmost, in order that this negotiation may produce some good result, soothing the prothonotary greatly, and saying she would desire the Chancellor to give a written minute of what he is to tell his King, which it is supposed will have been drawn up by order of her Majesty, with the counsel of Cardinal Pole, having been modified (*mitigato*) in better form. He will perhaps depart to-day, leaving little or rather no hope of adjustment, unless Don

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Ruy Gomez come with some better resolve from the Emperor, now that the Duke of Savoy has returned; but the general opinion is, that although during these two months, whilst awaiting the effects produced by the Turkish fleet, and such large armies in Piedmont, the negotiation will be kept on foot—the fashion in which this last office was performed, showing that it merely had for object to create delay—yet no agreement can take place, as both parties, but especially the Imperialists, hope either by coming to a battle, or by taking or recovering some important place in Piedmont, to gain greater repute and advantage in the agreement than they have at present.

Then, with regard to the Duke of Savoy, on the 3rd, the very day of his arrival at Brussels, he announced it in an autograph letter to Cardinal Pole; that he would await such resolve as should be given him by the Bishop of Arras and the Emperor, both with regard to his own affairs, as also about being able to negotiate with France, as in this matter they insisted on negotiating with him, and not with the Emperor; and that he would let Cardinal Pole know the result immediately. And as the French have frequently said, that were the Duke to go or send thither they would offer him satisfactory terms, the Abbot of San Saluto by his order wrote to the Constable that the King being thus well disposed towards him, should be pleased to manifest the fact by some detail, in order that the Duke may in some way be better convinced of this good inclination, it not being fair, if but for the sake of his honour, that he should consent to send and treat on this general basis (*questa generalità*) without first hearing farther about these conditions.

Has been told as a great secret, and as such it would be well for the Doge to keep it, that the Abbot of San Saluto, perceiving that the offices performed by these French mediators and agents and their mode of proceeding, did not only not tend towards the adjustment, but on the contrary utterly excluded it, the distrust between the parties increasing—it seeming to Cardinal Pole and him, that it was detrimental for the negotiation to protract matters further—determined to turn the course of the treaty into a surer and faster flowing channel; so without communicating the thing to anybody but his right reverend Lordship, he wrote to the Bishop of Arras six days ago, expatiating to him on whatever he thought most fitting in the writing (*quella scrittura*) given to him (the Abbot) by the Constable at the conference of Calais, and the contents of which he (Michiel) has never been able to ascertain, and is told that neither the French Ambassador nor his brother, nor any of the mediators, have knowledge of them; and contemporaneously the Abbot wrote to France, to the Constable, sending him the copy of what he had written to the Bishop of Arras, in order that the King may see in what manner and with what opportunity he took the step; but by no means did he let the Bishop know that what he wrote him proceeded either from the Constable, or from France, keeping the affair of the writing a very close secret, but letting it appear that he acted spontaneously, in order that should his proposal please the Emperor, the King may not disapprove of it, when communicated

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in like manner to him. At present, on the replies which may be expected from the two Courts from day to day, the hope and decision of the business will in great part depend.

By the same despatch from Rome, the Legate received from his Holiness the confirmation of all his decrees; the bulls for all the bishoprics in England being sent this once, gratis, without payment either of annat or anything else, although some of these English bishops offered to pay them spontaneously; and in addition to this, there was the brief erecting the Lordship (*dominio*) of Ireland into a kingdom, which title Henry VIII. usurped at the time of his secession from the Church, constituting himself "supreme head," as he also did in all ecclesiastical matters.

Cardinal Pole is strongly urged by the Pope to despatch the settlement of the affairs of his legation, and to see what he can do during the next two months respecting the agreement with these sovereigns; the Pope having scruples about recalling him at present, owing to the heat in Italy, but evincing a great wish to have him about his person for the need of the reform, provided his right reverend Lordship does not find it necessary to remain in England. Cardinal Pole in reply refers himself entirely to the Pope's will, with regard either to staying or going.

By the last advices from Spain, it is heard that the 6,000 Spaniards destined for Italy would be near the seaside for embarkation by the middle of next month.

Richmond, 12th August 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Aug. 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

183. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the COUNCIL of TEN.

Most Excellent Lords,

King Philip's ministers and councillors, perceiving that all the difficulties of the adjustment, reduced themselves to the restoration of the parties despoiled on either side—to facilitate the negotiation, and to discover the intention of France—caused Don Gutierre Lopez de Padilla to tell the Abbot of San Saluto to propose that whenever the King of France may choose to restore Corsica, the Emperor, on the other hand, will reinstate Duke Ottavio Farnese. The Abbot instantly announced this most adroitly to the French Ambassador here, writing also to the Constable, showing by many arguments, that of all the acts of restitution to which the French must at length necessarily condescend, should the agreement ever be effected, none would matter less to the King than the surrender of Corsica, not so much by reason of the small profit which it yielded him—he being unable to do much damage to his enemies in that quarter where they are always armed and prepared for defence, but on the other hand being obliged to incur great cost in garrisons, for its preservation, it being surrounded almost in every direction by his enemies, and in the centre of their dominions—as yet more by reason of the great detriment and dishonour of which he would rid himself, by not allowing the island to be a constant refuge (nido) for the Turkish fleet, with the risk of its infesting his

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own coasts and shores, by introducing it into harbours so near at hand, very much to the injury of all the Christian powers, and especially of Italy, who owing to him is exposed to perpetual depredation; in addition to which, he would perform an act of mere justice, holding it without just title, and without having received any offence from those who possessed it, his dominion being obtained by mere force and power. On the other hand, the Abbot represented the great advantage which the King would obtain by freeing himself from the expense of Parma, and the repute he would gain with the whole world, not only from being considered the chief author of the relief of a personage so miserably oppressed as Duke Ottavio, but from having completely reinstated him.

According to the reply now received by the ambassador, it does not seem that any one gave ear to these proposals, as they thanked the Abbot greatly for his assiduity and good will, and told him that the King did not think fit to accept the proposal, as since the Duke has been his confederate and under his protection, he not having lost anything of his own, neither would his Majesty give what was his in order to enable the Duke to recover what he lost at a more remote period; nor did he choose to strip himself to clothe others; but that nevertheless in order to decide better, he would await the opinion on this subject of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who, being absent from the Court, his Majesty had as yet been unable to hear it; and that he would then write more positively, showing hitherto that he holds the Duke in small account, it being perhaps his intention to keep for himself what belongs to him [Duke Ottavio], should he succeed as he hopes in recovering it from the enemy. The Abbot having given account here of the reply, and it seeming to them that this design was at an end, they commenced another, proposing that in lieu of the restoration of Corsica, Sienna and its whole territory should resume their pristine Republican form of government, both the Imperialists and the French abandoning whatever they hold there, and thus are the affairs of one Republic squared by means of another; concerning which proposal, the Imperial and French ambassadors said they would report to their sovereigns, who will decide the matter.

Richmond, 12th August 1555.

[Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Aug. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

184. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In reply to the King's enquiries as to whether he had any news from England, said he had heard nothing save the continuation of the report that the Queen was still desirous to adjust the disputes between his most Christian Majesty and the Emperor. The King replied, "It really is so, nor is there less inclination on the part of Cardinal Pole, who often discusses the matter with my ambassador, but there is nothing whatever of importance." Answered that he nevertheless understood that for this purpose Don Ruy Gomez de

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Silva had gone to the Emperor. To this his most Christian Majesty rejoined that he well knew he was gone, and that the King of England likewise wished for an adjustment (*compositione*), though he really did not know whether he had made the journey for this or some other cause, but that it was impossible to negotiate with the English ministers, because what one does the other undoes by reason of their partialities and disunion (*le partialità e disunioni*), most especially between the right reverend Chancellor and Lord Paget. He then said that the Queen had dismissed the greater part of the Court and withdrawn to Oatlands, and that she herself admitted she was not pregnant, and that of this his Majesty had been assured by a person to whom she had confessed the fact with her own lips. In conclusion, the King alluded to the general report that the Danish fleet had been in Scotland, and said it was astonishing, and for a few days had caused him great anxiety, but that at length, by letters from the Queen* and from his Lieutenant in Scotland, he had ascertained that it had never appeared off that coast, nor had they ever heard any news whatever of it.

Was also informed by the Cardinal of Lorraine that the French ambassador in England had been requested by Cardinal Pole to induce (*di disporre*) his most Christian Majesty to send one of the two bishops who attended the conference as his ministers, with a commission empowering him to treat such adjustment as might be proposed on the coming of the Duke of Savoy, but that the King replied that he could give no other commission, nor one more ample, nor more particular, than what he gave at the time of the conference; so as the Emperor was not then satisfied with it, the King did not know how to devise any plan save that the Emperor should determine to do himself that which he wished others to do, as he the King would not send any other ministers for this purpose.

In reply to an enquiry why they were expecting the Duke of Savoy, the Cardinal of Lorraine said, to try and adjust something with him, but the King holds the parties under his protection in such account that if the Emperor will not satisfy them, neither will France on her part give satisfaction to the Emperor's dependents (*ma il Re tiene tal conto de quelli che sono sotto la sua protettione, che se l'Impr^e non satisfà quelli dal canto nostro, nè anche S. M^{te} X^{ma} vorrà satisfare quelli dal canto di S. M^{te} Ces^a*).

Poissy, 14th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

August 14.
Parti Comuni
Consiglio X.
vol. xxii. p. 40.

185. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA about the salary of the Venetian Ambassador in England.

It having been carried in the Senate on the 2nd instant, that to the monthly salary of 150 golden crowns received by the nobleman Ser Zuan Michiel, our ambassador in England, there be added 30 ducats, so that he may have 180 golden ducats per month, the payment to commence on the said 2nd instant :

Put to the ballot, that the present treasurer of this Council and

* Mary of Lorraine, Queen Dowager of Scotland.

Silva had gone to the Emperor. To this his most Majesty replied that he well knew he was gone, and that the King of England likewise waited for an adjustment (compensation) though he really did not know whether he had made the journey for this or some other cause, but that it was impossible to negotiate with the English ministers because what one does the other must do by reason of their partialities and dissension (disunion) to which (which) most especially between the right reverend Chancellor and Lord Justice. He then said that the Queen had dismissed the greater part of the Court and withdrawn to Oatlands and that she had admitted she was not pregnant and that of this his Majesty had been assured by a person to whom she had confessed the fact with her own lips. In consequence the King alluded to the general report that the Danish fleet had been in Scotland, and said it was ridiculous and for a few days had caused him great anxiety, but that at length, by letters from the Queen, and from the Lieutenant in Scotland, he had ascertained that it had never appeared off that coast, nor had they ever heard any news whatever of it.

Was also informed by the Cardinal of Lorraine that the French Ambassador in England had been requested by Cardinal Pole to induce (to dissuade) his most Christian Majesty to send one of the two bishops who attended the conference as his ministers, with a commission empowering him to treat such adjustment as might be proposed on the coming of the Duke of Savoy, but that the King replied that he could give no other commission, nor one more ample, nor more particular, than what he gave at the time of the conference, so as the Emperor was not then satisfied with it, the King did not know how to devise any plan save that the Emperor should determine to do himself that which he wished others to do, as he the King would not send any other ministers for this purpose.

In reply to an enquiry why they were expecting the Duke of Savoy, the Cardinal of Lorraine said to try and adjust something with him, but the King holds the parties under his protection in such manner that if the Emperor will not satisfy them, neither will France on her part give satisfaction to the Emperor's dependents (and if he does not satisfy the Emperor's dependents, she will not satisfy herself, and so on). The Cardinal of Lorraine said that he would not satisfy himself but would satisfy the Emperor's dependents.

Paris, 14th August 1555.

[Italian.]

185. Motion made in the Council of Tax and Justice about the salary of the Venetian Ambassador in England. It having been carried in the Senate on the 2nd instant, that to the monthly salary of 150 golden crowns received by the Venetian Ambassador in England, there be added 30 ducats, so that he may have 180 golden ducats per month, the payment to commence on the said 2nd instant. Put to the ballot, that the present treatment of the Council and

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his successors be charged, commencing on the 2nd of this present month, to give to the agents of the ambassador aforesaid 180 golden ducats per month for his expenses during the time of his stay at that embassy.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 3. Neutral, 2.

Exit Ser Melchior Michael, consiliarius.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

186. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor sent secretary Erasso to Antwerp to raise a loan, and has had several letters from him saying he cannot at present stipulate with any merchant owing to news brought by a courier from England, purporting that on the 11th instant, between Dover and Calais, he saw 22 French ships attack the fleet bound from Spain with 300,000 crowns for account of the Emperor, and 50,000 for the Queen of England, his Majesty having granted this export-permit for the residue of the 300,000 already conceded her, besides a considerable quantity of money for the Antwerp merchants, who were in doubt whether this engagement took place with the fleet, said to be of 27 sail, or with the one of 25 sail which departed lately for Portugal loaded for the most part with grain, the rest of the cargoes being merchandize of various sorts of great value. The courier added that this sea-fight commenced at 11 a.m. and lasted until nearly night, and that three ships were burned, without knowing whether they were Imperial or French. Three days have elapsed without any confirmation of this intelligence, but secretary Erasso writes that some merchants have exhibited letters from their correspondents at Rouen who had the same news, with some variation, about which your Serenity will hear more authentically from the ambassadors Soranzo and Michiel.

The Florentine ambassador had audience of the Emperor, and acquainted him with the proceedings of the Turkish fleet at Pombino and Elba, telling him that although the Duke was not the least apprehensive, if it returned with the French fleet, that they would be able to do anything of importance, yet he greatly feared lest the French, who hold the fortresses of the Siennese, should reinforce themselves in such wise that, being at present equal to the Imperialists and perhaps outnumbering them, they should become greatly their superiors; wherefore it would be necessary for the Emperor to provide troops or charge the Duke to do so, sending orders to Naples for the funds required for their payment. He also requested the Emperor to give the title of Governor of Sienna to Don Francesco de Toledo and to confirm him in that post, as he could not send a more adroit minister for what was required there, or more dear to him, the Duke, by reason of the close connexion and good friendship between them.* He then besought his Majesty earnestly to give the archbishopric of Trani to the son of the late Duke Alessandro, and presented the Emperor with a quantity of most

* Don Francisco was the brother-in-law of Cosmo de Medici, the consort of Eleanor de Toledo.

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excellent fresh plums called "*Massimiana*." His Majesty told the ambassador he was well disposed to comply with the Duke's requests, and would give him a reply on the return of the courier sent by him to the King of England about the demand for the archbishopric, which is in his gift as King of Naples; and the Emperor requested the ambassador to write to the Duchess to take good care of what remained of other similar fruit, as he liked it beyond measure (*et richiese al detto ambre che scrivesse alla Duchessa, che fusse buona custoditrice delli altri simili frutti che restavano, che oltra modo li delettavano*).

The English ambassadors who returned from Rome, after making obeisance to the Emperor, departed immediately, and at the very time when I sent to announce my intention of going to visit them, they sent to say they were getting on horseback to continue their journey, apologizing and expressing regret at being unable to come and see me, as they wished, to demonstrate their gratitude for the many courtesies received from your Serenity, about whom and your affairs (*le cose sue*) they expressed themselves in the most loving terms possible.

Brussels, 16th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

187. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Several letters have arrived to-day from Calais, giving a different account of the engagement between the Imperial and French ships. The Marquis di Terra Nova, who is on his way back to this court from England, writes that the French, who had 17 armed ships, attacked 27 Flemish merchantmen on their voyage from Spain, and that three out of the entire number were burned, without giving farther particulars.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Empire says he has received advice that the French ships were only six, very large and very well armed, and that they went to attack the Flemings, in number 17, ten of which detached themselves from their consorts, steering with a fair wind towards England, and that the seven were compelled to fight, and one of them having thrown fireworks (*fuoghi artificiali*) into the French squadron, burned four others which went to their assistance, and the flames spread to the Flemish ships likewise, so only two of them were saved and one of the Frenchmen. These various advices have been communicated to the Emperor, who has no true account of the affair from any of his ministers.

Lord Courtenay, whilst riding for his pleasure through Brussels, had his attendants attacked by some Spaniards on account of the former disputes, and he wishing to favour his followers by reproving the Spaniards, they threatened him, so seeing a number of Spaniards hastening to the assistance of their countrymen * he returned in haste to his lodging, and on the retreat four of his attendants were wounded, and some of the Spaniards also.

* Mutilated.

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He went therefore to the Bishop of Arras and made great complaint of the assaults (*persecutioni*) to which his retinue had been four times subjected, and his right reverend Lordship promised him that he should not again suffer similar annoyances, attributing the blame to prostitutes, and disputes of that sort between menials (*tra quella gente plebea*); and he invited Lord Courtenay to accompany him to mass in the Cathedral, to show the world that what took place was owing to rogues, from other causes and not from lack of goodwill on the part of the Imperial ministers towards the English nation.

Don Ruy Gomez has recovered his health, and told the Emperor that with his good leave he can go back to the King of England. This, he says, has been conceded him, and that he will certainly depart, hoping to meet his Majesty on the road rather than to find him in England.

Brussels, 18th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18.

MS. St. Mark's

Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

138. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

Late on the 14th instant, received his letter of the 27th July about the vacancy of the church of Trani. In order not to be anticipated by others, wrote immediately to the King, acquainting him with the Pope's earnest wish about it, and as Monsigr. Agostini likewise had received a similar commission Pole thought it desirable before speaking to the King that Agostini should hear from his Majesty the difficulties of the case, so that Pole might then be better able to remove them. On the morrow Agostini told the King how earnestly the Pope wished the church of Trani to be conferred on his Datary, testifying to his rare and worthy qualities, &c. The King inquired whether he was a native of the kingdom of Naples and could reside on the see, and evincing in general terms his due observance towards the Pope, deferred particulars until he spoke to Pole, who went to him the next day, and having performed the office enjoined him by Caraffa, perceived at once, as he knew before, that there was no occasion to render the King more disposed than he already was to oblige the Pope in whatever depended on him, and that he would very willingly have gratified him in this matter, regretting and showing concern at being unable to do so, as he was bound not to infringe the promise given by him to the Emperor and to the kingdom of Naples to nominate a native of it to any church in his gift, vacant through the death of a foreigner, in like manner as if the vacancy occurred by the death of a Neapolitan, it remained optional with him to appoint a foreigner. Pole replied that to his knowledge Trani had nevertheless been conferred on two foreigners successively, to which the King rejoined that this perhaps took place before he made the promise. Pole then requested that this reply might not be conclusive, and so the King promised to give him fuller information on the subject, as he did yesterday by sending to him the Regent Figueroa, who after many assurances of the King's wish always to gratify the Pope, repeated what had been said about his Majesty's promise, adding

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how religiously he kept his word. Pole then said how much the Pope relied on the King's courtesy, and in some degree on Pole's mediation by reason of his Majesty's graciousness towards him, alluding also to the excellent qualities of the person proposed; and to this being the first favour requested in his Holiness' name, and to convince Figueroa of the Pope's wish in this matter, showed him Caraffa's letter, and let him take it with him that he might show it to the King. He also said that as his Majesty had received this privilege of nomination from the Apostolic See, it would be the more fitting to oblige the Pope in this matter. Figueroa departed saying he would again speak about it to the King, and return on the morrow, as he did with this decision, that Pole was to announce the impediment to the Pope, who, being a Neapolitan, would understand its importance, his Majesty promising in the meanwhile not to appoint any one else. As to the date of the promise, Figueroa did not know it exactly, but it was at the time when Serepando, Archbishop of Salerno, was sent by the city of Naples to Brussels, where the writing is. The King also told Pole how much he hesitated to name a person not destined to reside on his see, as said by him also previously to Monsigr. Agostini.

Pole then told the King and Queen of the jubilee proclaimed by the Pope, and which they and their household will very gladly celebrate in the present week, and a copy of it will be sent to all the bishops of England and Ireland, with orders to publish it throughout their dioceses. Trusts it may please God to grant the prayers of Christendom for peace. The King spoke to him about the revocation of the Church property, suspecting that the parties concerned in England may suppose themselves comprised in it. Pole replied that the bull itself fully explained that such was not the Pope's intention, but that his Holiness nevertheless had ordered a brief to be made out, to render it more clear. Pole's agent has informed him of Caraffa's friendly and courteous offers for whatever he (Pole) requires "*nelle occorrentie mie*," for which he thanks him most heartily, and in case of need will have recourse to him with all security, in like manner as Caraffa may on every account command Pole. Much has been said lately about the King's departure for Brussels; to-day it is announced for certain, and will take place in eight days, with few attendants, his Court remaining here, as he purposes returning within a month.

Richmond, 18th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

189. CARDINAL POLE to the BISHOP of SESSA.

Has received an unsigned letter from him, not written by himself, but the affectionate and gentle reproaches it contained, convinced Pole from whom it came. Apologizes for not having answered the request of such a friend and such a bishop, whom all cardinals are bound to serve, it being their duty always to serve bishops residing at their sees, when they make demands relating to the service of God. The Bishop in his letter thanks God for what Pole has effected for the cause in England, and trusts he will continue to serve it with regard to the see of Sessa. Not only does Pole pro-

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mise to do so, but prays the Bishop to command him in all things as a father would a son, he considering himself such, with regard to the Bishop. He has written the letter to Naples as required, and Monsigr. Priuli will give him farther particulars.

Richmond, 19th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

190. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 11th instant twenty large Flemish "*urche*" on their voyage from Spain to Flanders, in company with three vessels from Civita Vecchia, freighted with alum, fell in with 18 French ships and three brigantines; a battle commenced on the 11th, five hours before noon, and was carried on until five p.m. on the morrow the 12th, with great slaughter and loss of life, and each party had six vessels burned and two sunk, the rest much crippled (*malissimo trattate*); four Frenchmen returned to Dover in such a state as to be no longer serviceable, and five Flemings were taken into French harbours. It is said that the two flagships and their admirals (*amiragli*) were burned.

Last week their Majesties returned to Hampton Court, the Lady Elizabeth remaining at the seat to which she went; and now the Queen shows herself and converses with everybody as usual, her health being so good as perhaps never to have been better, to the universal surprise of all who see her, but of delivery or pregnancy small signs are visible externally, and no one talks or thinks of them any longer. As to the King's departure, he yesterday sent the Signor Carlo da Sanguino, gentleman of the mouth (*gentil-homo della bocca*),* to Brussels, (they say) to fix his going, having already adroitly broached the topic to the Queen, who will acquiesce; so it is said he will leave in eight or ten days, postwise, leaving the greater part of his household for the sake of convincing the Queen by as many signs as he can that he purposes returning speedily; though on the contrary it is said more than ever, that he will go to Spain, and remove hence his household and all the others by degrees. Concerning the negotiation for the peace, nothing farther has taken place since the departure of the Prothonotary de Noailles. The Abbot of San Saluto has received a reply from France to what he wrote about the disclosure made by him to (*circa l'essersi allargato*) the Bishop of Arras, commending him for what he did.

In consequence of a despatch from Rome, Cardinal Pole went to the Court the day before yesterday to announce the publication of the jubilee, and to request the King, in the name of his Holiness (who has made very earnest suit to this effect), to oblige him by conceding the archbishopric of Trani for Monsignor d'Osio. The nomination to that see, as one of the 24 of which the *jus patronatus* is reserved for the kingdom of Naples, belongs to his Majesty, from whom the Legate could not obtain the grant, as he excused himself

* The office of "*Gentilhuomo della bocca*" may be translated either "Esquire carver," "Gentleman of the mouth," or "Sewer," so I use the terms indifferently.

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on the plea of inability to infringe his promise and obligation to confer those benefices on natives of that kingdom; and the Doge will hear from Rome how this reply has been taken by the Pope. Cardinal Pole also returned thanks to both their Majesties for the finishing stroke (*ultimo fine*) put to the restitution of the Church property held by the Crown, all the Lords of the Council having at length approved it, and the bull being already published, though not without some impediment, certain English noblemen (*alcuni di questi signori*) having endeavoured to thwart it, perhaps from unwillingness to be invited by this example, for they can neither be compelled nor molested on this account, to do the like by what they themselves hold, and thus spontaneously disburden their consciences. By a subsequent despatch the Doge will see the tenour of the bull.

By a recent despatch from Spain it is said that the Castilians have already consented to give the subsidy of 800,000 ducats usually given at the time appointed by the Cortes, and they also hope for the benevolence extraordinary of 400,000, but no mention is made of the Aragonese subsidies.

Count Sforza Morone and Signor Gieronimo Crotto came hither from Milan, in the name of the community, to complain of the donative (*pensione*) lately demanded on account of King Philip from the feudatories, pensioners, and tributaries (*donatarij*) of the Milanese, as a thing due and usually paid by them to well nigh all the dukes on their taking possession of the duchy; which donative (*pensione*), signifying one year's income derived from either fief, pension, or office, is said to amount to no less than 180,000 ducats. This they requested of the King as a gift, or that he would at least defer the exaction of it until another time, by reason of the innumerable burdens and taxes to which the Milanese has been subjected, and which it continues to defray. At the audience given them by the King on the morrow of their arrival, he did not allow them to proceed far with their narrative, for, to the surprise of all the bystanders, moved by his usual graciousness, he interrupted them, saying that then and for ever he remitted them the tax; which reply so affected them that, humbly throwing themselves at his Majesty's feet, as an act of thanksgiving they offered him their property, their lives, and their blood for his service, and return completely satisfied with such speedy and auspicious despatch, having (it may be said) obtained the boon before they asked it. Has been told that, in consequence of this, and for other causes which are kept secret, the aforesaid Signor Carlo Sanguino will go to the Duke of Alva to acquaint him with the matter.

Richmond, 19th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

191. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prothonotary de Noailles returned yesterday from England, giving assurance, on behalf of the Queen, that she perseveres in her usual goodwill towards the French crown, and wishes his most Christian Majesty to send commissioners to England; but to this

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the King continues averse, and it is understood that when the Constable discusses this subject he expresses himself angrily, and especially because the prothonotary brings back word that the English ministers evince such affection for the Imperial interests that but very little remains for those of France, which increases the difficulty of negotiating; and Dr. Wotton has hinted to Soranzo that he knew all this to be passing in the Constable's mind, adding also that were the King of France to send his commissioners to England for this business, the Emperor would do the like, on which account he urges his most Christian Majesty to consent.

Poissy, 22nd August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2.
Senato Mar,
vol. 33, p. 27.

192. MOTION made in the SENATE, 2nd August.

The grant of the fair demand made by their beloved noble Zuan Michiel, ambassador in England, ought not to be withheld, both by reason of the great expense in ordinary which it behoves him to incur in that legation, as also on account of the outlay extraordinary, incurred of necessity for the honour of the State on several occasions which arose there after the arrival of the Prince of Spain, and also by reason of what he may have to incur hereafter for the same cause; which provision is the more due because their said noble has already been for about 14 months on that legation without being provided with such additional salary as decreed by the Senate for all the other ambassadors before the despatch or departure from Venice of said Ser Zuan Michiel for his legation; wherefore it will be put to the ballot that to the 150 ducats monthly salary now received by him, there be added, during the rest of his stay in said legation, to commence with the day of the present motion, 30 ducats extra, so that he will receive 180 golden ducats per month; his successor also to have the like stipend, according to the motion carried in the Senate on the 15th March 1554, which, as aforesaid, was carried before said ambassador's departure from Venice.

Ayes, 156. Noes, 39 $\frac{3}{4}$. Neutrals, 11.

30th May 1555, in the College.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 1. Neutral, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$. Kinsfolk withdrew.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

193. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A Neapolitan gentleman-of-the-mouth, of the King of England, has come hither to inform the Emperor that his son will soon be with him, and from a person able to know the fact I have heard that he has written to the Emperor at great length about the very earnest suit (*efficacissimo officio*) made to him by Lord Paget not to take the Princess Elizabeth out of the kingdom, as it would certainly cause too great disturbance, and most certain mischief; and this same person told me that Lord Courtenay will shortly be allowed to depart for Italy, and during the last few days the Bishop of Arras has honoured him so in public that he compels him by force to take precedence and keep the right hand.

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Don Ruy Gomez has departed on his way to meet the King, having failed to obtain permission from the Emperor (*sua Maestà*) to go to the baths of Liège for the cure of his malady, and he went by way of Antwerp for pecuniary supply. Before his departure Queen Maria invited him to dinner, which caused him to be much envied, especially by the Spaniards.

Brussels, 22nd August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

194. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most Christian King complains that the English commissioners for the negotiation of the peace, in their conversations with his ambassador in England, said that at the late conference the French ministers uttered certain words, which the King declares he had never before heard of, the commissioners in like manner affirming not only that they did not say them, but that no such topic was even mooted. Can learn no farther particulars save that his most Christian Majesty said that although the words, had they been uttered, were not such as to matter much, yet did it seem strange to him that his ministers should be reproached with saying what they did not say. So talking with the person who narrated the circumstance to me, and is worthy of entire credence, the King said *he did not see how he could trust in the said English, or again send his minister to that kingdom to negotiate.*

Poissy, 23rd August 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Aug. 24.
Filza, No. 134,
Miscellanea di
Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

195. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

My very good Lord, my bounden duty most humbly remembered. These are to excuse myself in that of long time I have not written any private letters unto your Lordship, the cause whereof being sent into Dorsetshire about her Majesty's affairs, and being otherwise the time so busied with me as I well could not, and also I participated first to Prune,* and after from time to time to Walker,† all things which I thought requisite [for] your Lordship to understand, so as that considering my own letter hath I hope so fully supplied my own writing, as I trust your Lordship will be satisfied therewith. And now, forasmuch as John Walker, your trusty servant, is the bearer hereof, to whom I have imparted my full mind in all things, and also hoping to see your Lordship myself very shortly, which is the cause, I do assure you, that I will do what I can to procure myself a journey, after the King's assent, as soon as I possibly can, which I trust shall not be long, referring myself in the rest to Walker's declaration by mouth, to whom I know your Lordship will, as you well may, give full credit, I will for this time commit your Lordship to the tuition of Almighty God,

* Query Walter Prune. See Domestic Calendar, Mary, p. 68, 1555, July 10.

† Query John Walker. See Domestic Calendar, Mary, p. 67, 1555, June 10.

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who ever preserve your Lordship, and grant unto you your own most virtuous desire.

In haste, the 24th of August.

Your good Lordship's most assuredly at commandment.

(Signed) James Basset.

[*Addressed* :] "To the right honourable and my very good lord, the Earl of Devonshire."

[*Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary* :] "Mr. Basset, the 24th of August 1555, from England to Brussels."

Aug. 24 (*sic*)

196. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

[28 ?]
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

On the 18th wrote to Caraffa of the King's determination to go to Flanders; so on the day before yesterday his Majesty, accompanied by the Queen, came to dine in London, and went afterwards to Greenwich, Pole accompanying their Majesties all through the city, where there was a much greater crowd than usual, on account of a fair [St. Bartholomew's],* and the populace applauded them the whole way until they embarked [at Tower wharf]. Yesterday Pole went to Greenwich, where their Majesties seemed to wish him to remain. He has not failed to pray and exhort the King to do his utmost with the Emperor to promote this negotiation for peace, saying again how much the Pope had it at heart. Then to-day after dinner the King departed, and in two days will be at Dover,† and seems to intend returning (please God) in October.

The Queen's ambassadors arrived from Rome four days ago,‡ showing themselves very well satisfied with the gracious reception given them by his Holiness, and with all the other courtesies received, of which they willingly tell everybody. On the road they heard of the repeal made by the Pope of the alienation of the Church property, and from what they told me, not without some anxiety lest it cause great disturbance here, a fear which has been expressed to Pole by many others also, but he has not failed to demonstrate to everybody that the intention of the Pope was by no means to alter anything done here, as may be seen by the bull itself; but that nevertheless, to remove any doubt, his Holiness had given orders for a special declaration to this effect to be made by another bull, which it will be well to have done, and to send the bull hither forthwith. Wrote to Caraffa that the King had determined to do nothing about the church of Trani until he heard farther from the Pope, after his being acquainted with the cause which prevented the King from gratifying him in this matter, as it would be his wish to do always. This the King confirmed to Pole yet more strongly, and Pole again repeated how much the Pope seemed to desire this concession, and how meritorious was the person proposed.

Greenwich, 24th (*sic*) [28th ?] August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* According to Machyn's Diary, the King and Queen embarked at Tower wharf on the 26th August, and as Bartholomew Fair did not commence until the 24th I think Machyn was correct, and that this letter should be dated 28th August.

† The King quitted Greenwich for Dover on the 29th August. (See Machyn, as above.)

‡ In Machyn's Diary (p. 93) it is stated that they arrived in London on the 24th August, which is an additional reason for supposing that this letter was written on the 28th.

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Aug. 25.
Filza, No. 134,
Miscellanea di
Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

197. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Mr. ENGLEFELD.

Having the opportunity of writing by this messenger, Mr. Morrice, thanks Englefeld for his friendship and the trouble he has taken in his affairs, and having some things at present to do and some suits to make, the particulars of which this messenger shall explain, begs his furtherance of them.

(Signed) Yours most bounden,
E. Devon.

Brussels, 25th August 1555.

[Original draft, in the handwriting of Courtenay's secretary.]

Aug. 25.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

198. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The post-master Tassis will depart to-morrow for Gravelines to give orders about post-horses for the persons who come with the King of England; he has desired that 50 horses be kept ready at each post-house. His Majesty writes to the Emperor that Cardinal Pole and the Chancellor have been thrice with the French ambassador discussing the peace, and they talked of treating it again in October, which is not credited, certain chief personages saying indeed that Cardinal Pole devises this mode of to avoid being called to Rome, *as for various and important projects of his he wishes to remain in England.* The King also prays the Emperor to decide about the acts of grace and rewards to be conferred by him, as he wishes to be free from this trouble at both courts, and the Emperor has already commenced inspecting the lists of things for distribution, as also those of the petitioners, Secretary Erasso having been with him during a long while for this purpose.

Brussels, 25th August 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Aug. 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

199. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The 300,000 crowns which the Emperor promised to furnish to the Duke of Alva through exchanges with the Genoese merchants have not been paid, and although they think the contract will take effect, yet will but a small part of the sum be sent to Italy, as the Imperial ministers have already pledged their word to distribute it in these parts, and that the first payments will be made to these said Genoese merchants, to reimburse the 24,000 crowns given by some of them to the Secretary Erasso that he might send them to King Philip for this his coming.

Brussels, 26th August 1555.

[Italian.]

1555.
Aug. 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

200. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Their Majesties came hither from Hampton Court yesterday morning, remaining merely to dine, and then went to Greenwich, where the Queen will remain during the whole time of the King's stay beyond sea. On departing hence, his Majesty had determined, when passing through London, to show himself in public to the people on horseback, leaving the Queen to follow him at leisure by water as usual, but her Majesty chose to give the City the satisfaction of seeing her likewise in his company, she having made the determination when in the very act of embarking; so having herself carried in an open litter, she went, accompanied not only by the English and Spanish nobility now at the court, but also by the Cardinal Legate and the ambassadors, the Lord Mayor and all the aldermen having met her at Temple Bar (*alla porta della Città*),* coming with the royal insignia and all the other solemnities, as customary when the Queen appears in public. It is not to be told what a vast crowd of people there was all along the road, which is a very long one, nor yet the joy they demonstrated at seeing their Majesties, which was really great, and the more as the London populace were firmly convinced that the Queen was dead; so when they knew of her appearance, they all ran from one place to another, as to an unexpected sight, and one which was well nigh new, as if they were crazy, to ascertain thoroughly if it was her, and on recognising and seeing her in better plight than ever, they by shouts and salutations, and every other demonstration, then gave yet greater signs of their joy, inasmuch as to their great comfort and that of her Majesty they saw her come with the King on one side of her and Cardinal Pole on the other, both of whom are universally popular by reason of the reported kindness of their nature, and of which daily proof is afforded by facts, so that the determination to make this display, most especially at the present moment, has been very useful.

The King will leave Greenwich as soon as he hears that the fleet with which he is to cross, and which until yesterday was here in the Thames to complete its outfit, shall be off Dover. It consists of 12 ships and a galleon for his Majesty's person, armed and provided in the best fashion possible,† and, in addition to this force, they are expecting some Flemish ships, to render the passage track yet more secure, as it is daily infested by Frenchmen, who without any scruple attack every vessel in order to take out of them all property and subjects belonging to the enemy.

His Majesty will be accompanied as far as Calais, that is to say, beyond the confines of the kingdom, by the Earls of Arundel and Huntingdon,‡ and Lord Paget, Huntingdon, and the Earl of Pembroke will follow him as far as Brussels, the last having been appointed captain and governor-general of all the English possessions across the Channel; and besides these personages the King will

* This "rydyng thrugh London unto Towr's-warff" is recorded by Machyn, p. 93.

† Armate et provvedute di tutte le cose sue come si possa.

‡ Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon.

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also be followed by the Admiral and the Queen's vice-chamberlain, and by the sons of the Earls of Arundel and Huntingdon, who are his Majesty's chamber attendants, together with some others of inferior grade, the number of persons being much less than reported.

His Majesty did not choose that the Portuguese ambassador and I should follow him, as we offered to do, he himself saying that as he was going postwise on a summons from the Emperor about business, with the intention of returning very speedily, he would not for so short a time give us this trouble, but, thanking us for our ready will, said he should hold the honour in the same account through our residence, as intended by us, with the Queen at Greenwich.

Concerning the King's return, discourse varies, his taking with him the Regents (*li Regenti*), and well nigh the whole Council, implying length and delay; so on the other hand, seeing that the German and Spanish infantry and the Burgundian cavalry remain in England, as also the chapel [functionaries], the physicians, the pages, and the whole stable [department], this affords arguments in favour of brevity and speed; but everything is conjecture.

In the meanwhile, as may be imagined with regard to a person extraordinarily in love, the Queen remains disconsolate, though she conceals it as much as she can, and from what I hear mourns the more when alone and supposing herself invisible to any of her attendants. During this absence Cardinal Pole will reside with her, lodgings having been assigned him in the palace, that he may comfort and keep her company, Her Majesty delighting greatly in the sight and presence of him.

With the King's departure all business will cease; so during this interval there will be little news to give, as everything in England proceeds in the usual course, and without any disturbance.

The affair of the peace likewise will also be suspended, independently of other respects, by reason of this absence of the King, but not remain entirely dormant, as last week Messer Gasparo Ponciglione, the nephew of the Abbot of San Saluto, was sent postwise to Brussels to confer with the Duke of Savoy (whose subject he is and much in his confidence)* about all current events; and should the Emperor determine on sending persons hither with such power as required by the mediators, in conformity with the offer made by the French ambassador and his brother, the negotiation would continue, notwithstanding the King's absence, as both one and the other are more than ever anxious about it.

Has heard from his relatives at Venice that, to relieve him in part from the expense incurred for the service and honour of the State, the Doge has very graciously been pleased to grant him the same increase of salary as destined for his successors. Returns thanks for this to his Serenity and the Senate; holds the demonstration and its result equally in account, though they cannot

* As already stated, Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Saluto, was a Piedmontese, and both uncle and nephew were staunch to their sovereign the Duke of Savoy.

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increase his wish to serve the Republic, as from duty and nature it had already reached its extreme limit.

London, 27th August 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

201. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial purveyors have departed to assign the quarters in all the places through which the King of England has to pass, and the Queens and the Bishop of Arras together have sent his Majesty six such fast hackneys (*chince*) that they will serve him instead of post horses, and for his followers they have taken at Antwerp and other places as many as 500, to be stationed at all the post houses. The Duke of Savoy, Lord Courtenay, and the English ambassador have gone separately towards Calais to meet the King, and it is said that on hearing of his having crossed the Channel, Queen Maria likewise and the Bishop of Arras will proceed towards Ghent. The Mantuan ambassador inquired of the Bishop what he was to do about going to meet the King, and received for answer that he was to follow the example of the other ambassadors. The Florentine says that he shall not go unless told to do so by some of the Imperial ministers; the Ferrarese will remain on account of [disputes about] precedence; the Portuguese will avoid encountering Sir John Masone. I shall do as the Nuncio does, if sure of not meeting the Duke of Savoy, knowing that your Serenity does not intend such an opportunity to present itself.

King Philip will lodge in the palace with the most Serene Queens [Eleanor and Maria, Queens Dowager of France and Hungary], and the purveyors have marked the habitations for all the lords of these provinces who have been called for the 12th instant, some say in order that the King may persuade them to give money to carry on the war, some because the Emperor purposes publishing his cession of these provinces to him, as he did Naples and Milan; others to make them consent to accept the Duke of Savoy as governor of said provinces, and consequently it will be heard whether he purposes taking the Duchess of Lorraine for his wife or not.

Several personages of this court, and of those who have arrived from that of the King of England, say it will soon be decided which of their two Majesties goes to Spain, and they will settle whether Queen Maria is to go to treat the matters for adjustment with the King of the Romans, or (as said by many) the King of Bohemia shall come hither for that purpose, especially as he has written a humble and very loving letter to the Emperor in justification of himself for the second time, purporting that, because he favoured certain preachers of rare ability, who were accused by some persons of having Lutheran opinions, his Imperial Majesty must not believe that he approved of them in this particular, adding the following circumstance, that on one of them the Cardinal of Trent had conferred some benefices.

The Pope has desired the Nuncio to acquaint the Emperor with the mode in which the galleys were taken by the Prior of Lombardy [Carlo Sforza], and to tell him that it was just they should be taken

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back to Civitavecchia, and that such therefore was his Holiness' will. The Bishop of Arras gave a favourable reply to the Nuncio, who took occasion to say that this business will be settled to the satisfaction of the Pope and the Emperor, to whom the Imperial ambassador at Rome has written that his Majesty would do well not to give him any cause for altercation with his Holiness, as he does not seem well disposed towards his Imperial Majesty. The Bishop of Arras evinced great displeasure on hearing of the arrest of Lottino, secretary of Cardinal Santa Fiore* [Guido Ascanio Sforza], especially because, after the election of the present Pope, it was said that he had told the Emperor many things to the discredit of many cardinals, which the Bishop denies, but says nevertheless that it would be well for certain persons who are too anxious to injure him not to go investigating matters, which, if divulged, might get themselves into trouble.

The Duke of Savoy, before his departure, requested the Ferrarese ambassador to write to his Duke, requesting him, as a favour, to give his Excellency the felons sentenced in his territory, and such as shall be condemned hereafter, that he may employ them on board certain galleys which he purposes fitting out.

Brussels, 1st September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

202. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

The royal virtues and goodness of their Majesties having had the force to bind him to the Court for their service, he considers it his duty to write to the King occasionally, but is unwilling to molest him; and as the first office enjoined him by the King on his departure was to endeavour to comfort the Queen, who could not but be much distressed by the absence of such a King and consort, he will now merely tell him with regard to this matter, that besides the great pleasure derived by her, as she tells him, from writing to his Majesty and reading his letters (the basis of her consolation being the hope she has that God's providence will preserve him in health and prosper his affairs), no slight remedy for her grief is that which the King has devised and ordered by keeping her occupied with public business, about which Pole found her yesterday very anxious, owing to the King's letters; and her Majesty acquainted him with certain things about which the King wrote that provision was to be made, and on the day before she sent to him the persons named in the memorandum signed by his Majesty, that he might hear their opinion concerning the matter in question, as he is certain the King will have been informed. Prays God that he may have a good passage, and that his affairs may prosper.

Greenwich, 2nd September 1555.†

[*Italian.*]

* Panvinio writes the name S. Fiore, but Cardella prints it Santafora.

† In the MS. this letter is dated as above, and by a despatch from Giovanni Michiel to the Signory it is seen that King Philip crossed from Dover to Calais on the 4th September 1555.

1555.
Sept. 2.
Senato Terra,
vol. 40, p. 51.

203. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning costs incurred in honour of Anthony Brown, Viscount Montagu, when passing through Venice on his return to England from Rome, where he had been ambassador.

Two hundred and twenty-six ducats and 16 *soldi* having been expended by order of our Signory by our officials of the office for "old accounts" (*razon vecchie*) in payment of the expenses of Viscount Montagu (*il Sigr. di Montagu*), an English nobleman who came to this city, as appears in detail by the account presented to the College, it is fitting to provide for liquidation of the entire sum.

Put to the ballot, that, by authority of this Council, there be given from the moneys of our Signory to the aforesaid officials of the office for "old accounts" 226 ducats and 16 *soldi*, in payment of all the costs incurred for the cause aforesaid.

Aloysius Rhenerio, S.C.
Aloysius Mocenico, S.T.F.

Ayes, 159. Noes, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$. Neutrals, 2.

1555, 24 August, in the College.*

Ayes, 21. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

204. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 29th ult. the most Serene King left Greenwich, accompanied by the English noblemen whose names have been already written, and although from beyond Gravesend, whither he went by water as usual, he proceeded post-wise for greater despatch, yet nevertheless, being accompanied to the seaside by his guard of 100 English halberdiers, he on the first day did not get farther than Sittingbourne, a distance of 15 miles, where he was received with great demonstrations of honour, having been met three miles in advance by the Lord Warden, Captain of the Cinque Ports, and Lord Lieutenant (*Governator*) of Kent, with a company of gentlemen of the county, in number 200, all on foot, clad in one livery; and on entering the town they found tables prepared in the streets as a mark of rejoicing, everybody being boarded and lodged gratis. On the morrow he went but 10 miles beyond, to Canterbury, where he stopped on account of the convenience of the lodgings, and where he still is, only 10 miles from Dover, awaiting news from the Admiral of the arrival of the Flemish ships, and of fair weather for crossing, having been detained hitherto by both one and the other, as to secure himself against any danger he will not put to sea without this Flemish convoy.

* Although the account was not passed by the College until the 24th August, the expenses were incurred at the close of June, as may be inferred from the entry relating to Lord Montagu, date 28 June 1555, and from a paragraph in the Foreign Calendar, date Brussels, 21 July 1555 (p. 180); whilst from "The Journey of the Queen's Ambassadors," published by Lord Hardwicke, it is seen that on its way home the embassy was at Bologna on the 1st of July 1555, and at Trent on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of that month. Lord Montagu apparently parted company from his colleague the Bishop of Ely, and went to Venice incog.

1555.

Much to my pleasure I accompanied Cardinal Pole and the other noblemen on the day when they went with the King to his barge, to see him take leave of the Queen, who on that occasion really expressed very well the sorrow becoming a wife, and a wife such as she is, invested with the regal habit and dignity, for without displaying much extrinsic disquietude, though evidently deeply grieved internally, she chose to come with him through all the chambers and galleries (*sale*) to the head of the stairs, constraining herself the whole way to avoid, in sight of such a crowd, any demonstration unbecoming her gravity, though she could not but be moved when the Spanish noblemen kissed her hand, and yet more, when she saw the ladies in tears take leave of the King, who, according to the custom of the country, kissed them one by one. On returning, however, to her apartments, placing herself at a window which looks on the river, not supposing herself any longer seen or observed by any one, it was perceived that she gave free vent to her grief by a flood of tears, nor did she once quit the window until she had not only seen the King embark and depart, but remained looking after him as long as he was in sight; and the King on his part mounted aloft on the barge in the open air (*il qual montato in piedi in un alto della barca*), in order to be better seen when the barge approached in sight of the window, and moreover, waived his bonnet from the distance to salute her, demonstrating great affection. Now whilst his Majesty is at Canterbury, not only every day, but every hour, expresses are on the road from the King to the Queen, and in like manner from hence to his Majesty, the gentlemen-in-waiting being always booted and spurred ready for a start.

Shortly before he departed, the King sent for Cardinal Pole, and all the Lords of the Council, into the chamber, and in very suitable language recommended the government of the kingdom to them during this his absence, alluding especially to justice and religion, leaving a writing in which, as I was told by the Legate, were noted all such warnings as he deemed most important and necessary, with a detailed list (*una particular nota*) of such persons as could be trusted and employed for any necessary business or office, a matter which, although discussed previously, surprised every one by reason of the judgment and tact displayed in it by his Majesty, who then, thus in public, turning towards Cardinal Pole, besought him very earnestly in his own name and that of the Queen to assume this charge, in conformity with his own patriotism and the wish of their Majesties, desiring all the others to defer to him in everything. This same office had been performed by the King with the Cardinal the day before, they being alone together, his Majesty for this purpose having gone very privately in person to the Legate's own apartment, taking him quite by surprise. Cardinal Pole told me that by so much the less did he think fit to combat the wish of his Majesty, as he trusted, and was indeed certain, that the will of their Majesties, being in accordance with his natural obligation would also have the approval of his Holiness, from which, by another second obligation, both as a member of the apostolic see and as the Pope's representative, he could not depart. Henceforth, therefore, to the great comfort of their Majesties and the whole kingdom, all

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public and important business will be discussed and decided according to the opinion and advice of his right reverend Lordship, who, for the avoidance of envy and molestation, will not interfere with private and ordinary matters, leaving their despatch as before to the other members of the Council; and this will perhaps be the chief cause, besides the others, for his remaining here.

The Prothonotary De Noailles foresees that the decision announced to him by the mediators with regard to resuming negotiations here, even should it be put into a better form than was proposed to him, would not at all please his most Christian Majesty, whose reply to the English ambassador resident with him purports that having sufficiently declared his mind and intention at the conference of Calais, it was superfluous to send again hither to explain better than was done then, and that should it be necessary to propose any new scheme here, recourse might be had to his ambassador, who will reply to whatever shall be necessary. Such was the answer sent hither by the English ambassador [Dr. Wotton], the French ambassador not having had letters thence for many a day, as lest he should give notice of all King Philip's projects connected with this departure, all his packets are detained at the ports, whether coming or going.

Notwithstanding this reply, the Abbot of San Saluto does not fail to discuss these matters daily with said ambassador, the negotiation as written by me now passing through another channel, but as yet I am unable to ascertain whether any reply has been received, either from Brussels or from Missier Gasparo, the Abbot's nephew, who was sent to confer with the Duke of Savoy, though it may be supposed that everything is reserved for King Philip's arrival at the Imperial court.

Yesterday at the Court it was reported that there had been a second sea-fight in the British Channel, between some Flemish "urche," on their voyage from Spain, and French ships, eight of which last had been captured, and that two of the Flemings were sunk, but as yet entire credence is not given to this account.

Shortly before the King's departure a Spanish gentleman, Don Francisco de Ribera, resident in Peru, sent thence with a salary of 40 ducats per diem, and full authority from the inhabitants of that province, arrived at Hampton Court, to treat and decide with the Emperor about the division of the territory already acquired, and such as will be obtained hereafter, that it may be conceded in perpetuity to the heirs and successors of those on whom it shall have been bestowed, and not for one or two lives at the utmost, the petitioners compounding for this grant by payment of a sum of money on the best terms they can get, having long earnestly urged the matter in vain, the denial proceeding from scruples of conscience, which were freely dictated to his Majesty by a bishop, who is a friar and a doctor of divinity, whom the Emperor seemed to believe more than all the other theologians who have spoken and written to the contrary. This Don Francisco is now going to Brussels with King Philip, who is in favour of the bargain, which would yield him so considerable a sum that the mere mention of it is alarming. On board the ship in which Don Francisco came from

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Peru to Spain, the vessel having foundered at sea, he lost upwards of 50,000 ducats, held by him in no account, as he says that on his return they will be repaid him twice over by the natives (*da quelli del paese*).

London, 3rd September 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Sept. 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

205. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Five leagues hence Queen Maria has prepared a grand banquet and hunt, to gratify (*carezzare*) the King of England, of whose passage across the Channel no intelligence has as yet been received.

Persons who come from Calais say that some French armed ships were off the harbour, but not in sufficient number to prevent the King's passage. The Emperor has again desired the Prince of Orange to march with the army as soon as he can towards the city of Arras, and proceed beyond, to prevent the French from burning that part of the county of Artois, as they continue doing.

Here there have assembled nearly all the deputies and some of the Lords of these provinces, of whom the demand for money will not be made until the King arrive.

The Marquis of Terranova, on his return from England, came yesterday to visit me, and said that by the Emperor's order he was to depart for Sicily, to arrange various matters with the Viceroy, both about the Turkish and French fleets and the affairs of Tunis, his Majesty having let him know that he will thus render more service than by remaining here, as he had intended, wishing honestly to favour with the King of England the suits of many Sicilians against the Viceroy, who is too much protected by the Spanish ministers at both courts; and he expatiated greatly on the Viceroy's misconduct, as detrimental not only to the Sicilians, but to his Imperial Majesty.

Brussels, 3rd September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

206. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night a courier came to the Emperor with news that on the day before the King of England had made a good passage across the Channel in four hours with four ships, not choosing to wait for the others destined for his convoy, being thus counselled in order that the French might not suspect him of being then on his voyage. Yesterday he lodged at Dunkirk, to-day he will be at Bruges, and to-morrow at Ghent; and he has written to the Emperor that on Sunday the 8th he will arrive here, where no preparation has been made in honour of his entry, as he comes post-wise, but it is said that, including all his followers and those who accompany him from the neighbouring towns, and who will go to meet him from hence, there will be well nigh 2,000 horse. The Count of Egmont, who is the chief personage of these provinces, after the Prince of Orange,

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has been sent by the Emperor to go to see him (*a visitarla*), and his Majesty has ordered all persons able to supply provisions for men and horses to furnish all Englishmen accompanying and following the King, without receiving any payment, which will be made by his Imperial Majesty subsequently.

Brussels, 6th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

207. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Before the King of England quitted that kingdom, its passage ports were all closed according to custom, to prevent the news from being spread abroad, and the French ambassador having found means to send his most Christian Majesty a messenger by an express boat, which was discovered, and detained for some days, the English ambassador apologised to his most Christian Majesty, in the Queen's name; and the King, who wishes her to remain neutral, said that although she was the wife of his enemy, on which account she might incline more towards the Emperor than towards him in the negotiations for peace, yet such was his opinion of her goodness and integrity, that should any adjustment be effected between the Emperor and himself, her Majesty's mediation would prove the best.

King Philip's journey is said to be chiefly for the purpose of deciding which of their two Majesties is to go to Spain; and either because such is the wish here, or because the Emperor desires quiet, it is considered at the French court well nigh settled that his Imperial Majesty will be the one to make the voyage, landing first in England.

I am assured on good authority, that his most Christian Majesty has ordered his ambassador in England, in case the Queen or others propose terms to him respecting the agreement with the Emperor, similar to those suggested at the late conference, to demonstrate his Majesty's absolute resolve not to alter his commissioners' terms; but should fresh proposals be made, he is to take time to reply, and acquaint his Majesty with them, though there is little prospect at present of any negotiations producing a good result.

Poissy, 6th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

208. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday the most serene Queens [Eleanor and Maria of Austria] the Duchess of Lorraine, the Bishop of Arras, and several lords of these provinces, departed on their way to meet the King of England, who is expected here this evening, when the townspeople, according to the custom of these provinces, will receive him by the light of torches, although it will be daylight, 400 having been prepared for this purpose. At Bruges and Ghent some presents have been prepared for His Majesty, some say in money, and some in refreshments; yet the ambassadors have made no preparation to go and meet him, so I shall abstain from doing so, as besides what I

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wrote to your Serenity about the Duke of Savoy, I am confined to my bed by a violent pain in my side.

Brussels, 8th September 1555.

P.S.—The most Serene King of England has arrived with the number of horses and in the fashion announced by me, his Majesty riding abreast with the Duke of Savoy. None of the ambassadors went out to meet him.

His Majesty went immediately to the *Casino* to kiss the Emperor's hand.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

209. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Contrary winds detained the King at Canterbury from the 30th August until the 4th instant, Don Ruy Gomez de Silva having in the meanwhile come back hither, unable any longer to endure absence from his Majesty, having recovered his health, and being accompanied by the Marquis di Bargas,† gentleman of the chamber both having come from Brussels to wait for him at Calais. His Majesty embarked on the morning of the 4th at 8 a.m., according to English reckoning, and at the 13th hour by that of Italy, and had so good a passage that in two hours and half, as written by him to the Queen in his own hand, he crossed without any danger or suspicion from coast to coast, and in little more than three landed at Calais, his good fortune being so much the greater as shortly afterwards such a storm of wind and rain arose that all the ships then at sea ran great danger, and were driven here and there during 24 or 30 hours, and "*malissimo trattati*," and amongst them were those of the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Warden, who, together with the others, having accompanied the King to Calais, chose to return immediately.

At Calais, besides other demonstrations made on receiving his Majesty with the honours suited to the place, he was presented with the keys of the town and castle; the staplers offering him 2,000 ducats ready money, and the mayor, in the name of the town, 500, which sums were afterwards very generously given by him to the soldiers of the place, who escorted his Majesty to Gravelines, he having done the like by the donatives received at Sittingbourne and Canterbury, which by his order were distributed amongst the poor; nor on leaving Calais did he fail to use another act of liberality towards Lord Grey,‡ captain (*sic*) of the fortress of Guisnes, to whom, in acknowledgment of his valour and loyalty, out of his own money he had a purse given, containing 500 golden ducats. At Gravelines he found the Duke of Savoy, with 4,000 infantry, he having, with good reason, come to guard the pass for him, as it is a

* "The *Casino* was a lodge in the park at Brussels, near the Louvain gate. The Emperor purchased it in 1551, and in 1554 repaired and improved it, previous to going to live there." See *Stirling, Notices of the Emperor Charles the Fifth in 1555 and 1556.*

† Marquis de Vargues? (See *Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558. Index.*)

‡ William Grey, 13th Lord (of Wilton), English Lieutenant at Guisnes. (See the late Mr. Turnbull's *Calendar, 1553-1558. Index.*)

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frontier town; and thus accompanied, taking with him, amongst the rest, the Earl of Arundel,* who had not intended to proceed farther, having sent all the Spaniards in advance, and remaining with the English alone, he rode post-wise towards Brussels.

The Queen in the meanwhile, not content with having sent two of her chief chamberlains in the King's company for the purpose of being acquainted with all that takes place, writes to him daily in her own hand, and despatches couriers, demonstrating in every way her great desire, though it is not to be told how much comfort and consolation she derives from the conversation and society of Cardinal Pole, according to whose account she gradually reconciles herself to this absence.

With regard to affairs here, is told that, according to the King's suggestion, a sort of privy council will be established for matters of state and of importance, those in ordinary and such as relate to justice being referred to the one which already exists, wherein many persons who are considered sage have seats, but they apparently do not enjoy such esteem and repute as to qualify them for this other, for which (as understood by the writer) the only persons hitherto destined are the Cardinal, the Chancellor, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke,† the Treasurer,‡ the Bishop of Ely,§ Lord Paget, and Secretary Petre; but until the return of some of them who are with the King, it is impossible to know with certainty, and for the present affairs continue to be treated and decided as before, with this in addition, that when necessary those of weight are communicated to Cardinal Pole.

The French ambassador has had audience of the Council on account of the Queen of Scotland,|| who has often complained of many acts of insolence and outrages committed on both sides of the Borders, without any punishment being inflicted on the English, contrary to what she does by her own subjects, who, when found guilty [of similar misdemeanours], are severely punished by her; concerning which the royal Council having written strongly to the captains and governors on the Borders there, sending thither also lately the Earl of Shrewsbury to confer with the Scottish governors, and discuss the grievances on either side, and apply a remedy, at this interview, from the site of which the Queen was not far distant, the Earl did not execute the orders of the Council, nor comply with the contents of their letters; so the ambassador demanded fresh letters and fresh provision, so as entirely to remove all cause for greater disturbance.

Messer Gasparo, the nephew of the Abbot of San Saluto, who was sent to the Duke of Savoy, met his Excellency four leagues on this side of Brussels, so Messer Gasparo's conference was deferred until the Duke's return to Brussels.

The English ambassadors lately returned from Rome¶ have

* Henry Fitz-Alan, 21st Earl of Arundel.

† William Herbert, 20th Earl of Pembroke.

‡ William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester.

§ Thomas Thirlby.

|| Mary of Lorraine, Queen Dowager of Scotland.

¶ Anthony Brown, Viscount Montagu, and Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely.

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rendered him thanks for the generous demonstrations made them by the Doge, both at Venice and throughout his territory, which, being held by them in great account, they have proclaimed and continue proclaiming everywhere, showing their grateful recollection of them; the like having been done by the Earl of Bedford,* who wrote to all his family of the liberality and courtesy with which he had been treated; and a few days ago a gentleman came, in the name of the Earl's mother† and of his consort,‡ they having sent him from the country upwards of 20 miles off, to offer him [Michiel] anything in their power (*tutte le cose loro*), presenting him at the same time, as a mark of their gratitude, with a large stag killed in their forests at a hunt, such a present, in England, being considered suitable and handsome.

London, 9th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

210. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Papal Nuncio having received letters from the Abbot of San Saluto (Cardinal Pole's secretary), sent to show them to the Constable. They were dated London, the 22nd ulto., and purported that before the King's departure the Cardinal would not fail exhorting him to persuade the Emperor to consent to the stipulation of an agreement with France, the Cardinal adding that King Philip was well disposed.

Poissy, 9th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

211. The SAME to the SAME.

The French ambassador in England has written to the King that Cardinal Pole exhorted King Philip on going to his father to urge him to make a truce with his most Christian Majesty, and the King answered that for himself he was inclined to perform every possible good office with the Emperor, but could give no farther reply until he had spoken with him, and as he is not yet known to have arrived at Brussels, nothing more is known about this business; but some persons are of opinion that, with the opportunity for showing that he does so at the request of his son, the Emperor might condescend to it.

Paris, 12th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12.
Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
vol. 69, p. 144,
tergo.

212. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

In case the King depart he is not to follow him, but remain with the Queen, and if the King should have crossed to Flanders, and

* Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford.

† Anne Sapeotes, widow of Sir John Broughton. (See Collins' Peerage, vol. 1, p. 266.)

‡ Margaret St. John. (See Collins, as above, p. 272.)

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been followed by the ambassador, and his Majesty proceed to Spain, the ambassador will return to England to the Queen.

Ayes, 151. Noes, 7. Neutral, 29.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

213. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Many months having passed without my speaking to the Queen, who had been so long in retirement on account of the delivery, I now, although no better occasion presented itself than that of recommending some of our merchants to her, did not think fit any longer to delay waiting upon her, as I did yesterday, when, besides the aforesaid office, I congratulated myself on the good and prosperous state of health in which I found her, as in the opinion of all the persons with me she had never, thank God, been seen so well, still less better, to the great comfort of your Serenity, who wished it, I said, to be such by reason of your ancient and great affection for this most serene crown, and particularly for her Majesty and her consort, for one and the other of whom your Serenity desired such increase of prosperity and such auspicious result for all their proceedings as became their great goodness, piety, and conformity of will; congratulating myself at the same time, having been persuaded so to do by the most illustrious Legate, on such a generous and Christian resolve as had emanated from the upright election and judgment of her Majesty with regard to the restitution of the Church revenues and property, which, I said, in like manner as it was a confirmation of her zeal for religion and Christian piety, the light which our Lord God had been pleased to give her, becoming daily more manifest, would become the brightest of mirrors, not only for her own subjects but likewise for all other nations, and both one and the other seeing therein its glorious reflexion, would be induced to imitate her Majesty, and sedulously follow this example.

The Queen's reply, which was more kind than usual, showed that the compliment pleased her greatly; she thanked me for my congratulations on both circumstances, and showed great readiness about the affairs of the merchants. She then called the Bishop of Ely and Lord Montagu, lately returned from their embassy to Rome, and who having accompanied and presented me to her Majesty had respectfully drawn aside to a remote part of the chamber, and said to me, "These personages have related to me how honourably and kindly they were received and treated by your lords, from whom receiving, as I do daily, greater proofs of the love and affection they bear me, I pray you to thank them to the utmost, in like manner as I thank you greatly for the present received," she herself distinctly describing the coloured silk, which some months ago, as known to your Serenity,* was asked of me in her Majesty's name, and arrived lately, I being unable without great reproach, as the request was made to me earnestly more than once, to fail executing the commission, nor

* The Ambassador's letter, informing the Doge and Senate that Queen Mary wished for a gown of Venetian silk, has not been found.

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when performed did I think it becoming the dignity of the post unworthily held by me to ask or seek its payment, which was never offered. Concerning this silk, addressing herself to Lord Montagu and the Bishop of Ely, and speaking aloud so that the ladies and the Venetian merchants and many others who were present heard her, she said so many things in English, which were communicated to me afterwards, as clearly to show that what she had received she liked very much. In my reply, therefore, I said that even had the demonstrations in favour of the ambassadors been much greater than reported to her, they would have fallen short of your Serenity's wish, by reason of what is due to her Majesty's grandeur and merit; and as to the silk, that I most humbly kissed her hands for the favour conferred by commissioning me to do a thing which she said had proved so much to her satisfaction. Having then commenced talking about the King's journey, her Majesty telling me very passionately with the tears in her eyes that for seven days she had no letters from him, I comforted her by [anticipating] a speedy return, and having dwelt on this subject as much as seemed fit to me, perceiving the great pleasure it gave her Majesty, I then took leave.

I have given your Serenity a more detailed account of this audience than is perhaps becoming, that you may fully understand the kindness of her Majesty's manner and nature, as also her great affection for you, and the great account moreover in which she holds your demonstrations and good offices by receiving them so gratefully; nor in the meanwhile, with regard to the silk, which (I am informed) did not cost more than 40 ducats, as for the honour of the Signory I shall never demand payment, it will be reasonable for it to go to your Serenity's account (*sarà di ragione vadi a conto della Serenità vostra*).

London, 13th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

214. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

In my foregoing I wrote about the arrival of the King of England, and that he dismounted at the "*Casino*" of the Emperor, who went down stairs to wait for him. The King knelt before him requesting leave to kiss his hand, to which the Emperor would not consent, and taking off his own bonnet instead and holding it in his hand, requested him earnestly to rise, in the act of doing which the King insisted on kissing his left arm, and the Emperor embraced and kissed him so affectionately that the tears came to his eyes. The King immediately called by name the Admiral [Lord William Howard], the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and some other Englishmen, and presented them to his Majesty, who received them joyfully (*con allegro animo*) but did not allow them to kiss his hand, as customary with him with regard to those who are not his own subjects. He then ordered another chair to be brought, and making the King cover desired him to sit down, as he did after much resistance, doffing his bonnet well nigh at every word. The King

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went through the park to sup with the Queens and the Duchess of Lorraine on their return, not from meeting the King, as it was said they would, but from the hunt, taking with him the Duke of Savoy, to whom on his journey he showed signs of great love and honour, especially near Calais, when, seeing his Excellency dismount, he returned the compliment, keeping him for a good while embraced; and now that the Duke is confined to his bed with fever and smallpox, the King sends Don Ruy Gomez to visit him daily, as do the Emperor and the Bishop of Arras, both their Majesties choosing to have an account of him every hour, and it is heard that he is getting better.

On the two following days the King was alone with the Emperor morning and afternoon, two hours each time, and yesterday once in the afternoon until night, sitting with him at a table, with a drawer of writings before them. All the ambassadors have been to visit King Philip, and I presented him with the letters of credence, saying that your Serenity, bearing him great affection and reverence by reason of his so many and glorious virtues, had commissioned me to visit and congratulate him on his auspicious state. His Majesty answered me that he considered it certain that you loved him in the same way as he knew you had loved the Emperor, his father and lord, and that from his own will and by command of his Imperial Majesty he had always reciprocated this sentiment, and would persevere in the said goodwill and friendship, and when opportunities offered oblige the State in whatever he could, repeating this most lovingly and receiving me with great graciousness, quickly doffing his bonnet to me completely four times when uttering these words, and when I made a suitable reply to what he said about remembering my having been ambassador to him.*

The Emperor has given orders for the obsequies of his most Serene mother, for which purpose the black cloths and a torch for each have been given to 200 poor people, the trades of Brussels being desired by him to send a certain number of their members to assist at this funeral pomp, and along the street from the palace to the cathedral for the passage of the King and Queens they are making the stages (*le sbare*), which will be covered with black cloth. The mass will be sung by the Bishop of Liège, the natural son of the late Emperor Maximilian, who has come hither for this purpose and to visit the King, and the ceremony is to commence on the 17th and will terminate on the morrow. Consultation has been held about inviting the ambassadors, and owing to the dispute for precedence between England and Portugal it is said they will not be asked, as in these times both the Emperor and King Philip are but too much interested in not giving offence to either of those crowns; but the English ambassador says that although he may not be invited he purposes attending the ceremony with the other Englishmen here, who say that after the funeral they shall return home, nor would they accept the lodging provided for them by the King in order that their expenses might be paid, thanking his Majesty for this courtesy, and

* In November 1548, when Federico Badoer accompanied the Prince of Spain from Genoa through the Venetian territories, the Prince being on his way to Brussels.

1555.

requesting him to allow them to select a dwelling to their own satisfaction.

It is said that on the termination of the obsequies the King has had leave from the Emperor to change his mourning apparel, and two days afterwards he will go to a hunt arranged at a short distance hence by Queen Maria.

Long letters, said to be autograph and in French, from the Queen of England to the King, arrive here daily, as also several persons of his court, and effects belonging to himself and his courtiers.

Brussels, 14th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

215. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the Michaelmas term Parliament assembled, the summons having been made on the 10th instant, and the session, lasting 40 days as usual, will end on the 21st proximo. The cause for its being summoned is unknown save to a few, who keep it secret; many persons say it will be either to ask for money, owing to the heavy expenses and great debt on hand, or else for the King's coronation, to detain the King here as long as they can owing to the repute and profit derived by the realm from his presence, in addition to the wish of the Queen; or to make some proposal to France, in order that should war break out they may demand and obtain the means for waging it.

Last week Don Luis de Caravajal, having crossed from Spain, arrived at Dover with 10 well-armed caravels, on board of which he has brought 800,000 ducats, according to the Spaniards at the court, though the merchants say 300,000, 60,000 of which will remain in England, the cofferers (*thesorieri*) having gone to receive them, for payment of the Household, and of the debts left by the King, and the rest will be taken to Flanders. Besides this, there is a small sum of from 20 to 25,000 ducats belonging to the Queen, being part of the loan of 100,000 for which her Majesty contracted in Flanders, the balance never having been paid until now.

They are now intent here on examining the Archbishop of Canterbury, there having gone for this purpose to Oxford (where he is in prison), besides a bishop, Dr. Martin, and some others delegated by Cardinal dal Pozzo,* to whom his Holiness committed the cause *ad referendum*, not choosing it to proceed according to the examination and process drawn up (*formato*) and taken to Rome by the ambassadors before the kingdom resumed its obedience to the Apostolic See, having ordered their revision, and that when the process is completed it be sent back to Cardinal Dal Pozzo, so that after relating it to the Pope they may proceed to the sentence and its execution. Should the Archbishop recant, which is not expected,

* Dal Pozzo, *alias* Du Puy, *alias* Jacopo Puteo, a native of Nice in Provence, made Cardinal by Julius III., 20th December 1551, and Paul IV. appointed him Inquisitor General. Cardinal Puteo died at the age of 69, in 1563, immediately after his appointment as Legate to the Council of Trent. (See Cardella, vol. 4, pp. 314-315.)

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although he may save his life, he nevertheless cannot according to the canons be any longer admitted to the ministry (*ministerio*) of that Church, so they must necessarily appoint him a successor, who will, it is supposed, be the most illustrious Legate, provided he be not recalled to Rome to reside with his Holiness.

Certain Englishmen in Italy have sent the bull concerning the alienation of the Church revenues and property, in order to alarm the people here, lest they likewise be molested for this cause, some of the most disaffected having disseminated it to impress this opinion and create as much disturbance as possible, so to prevent the matter from going farther, it has been necessary to imprison some of them; and to free the others from suspicion, and give them full assurance, they have sought the transmission of another bull from Rome, with a particular and express declaration that the Church property here is not included in that alienation, again confirming all that has been done in this matter by Cardinal Pole.

After the Chancellor's return from the conference of Calais he fell into such a state of "oppilation," that besides having become (as the physicians say) jaundiced (*itherico*), he by degrees got confirmed dropsy, and had it not been for his robust constitution, a variety of remedies prescribed for him by the English physicians having been of no use, he would by this time be in a bad way, his physiognomy being so changed as to astound all who see him. The Emperor has sent him the remedy he used when first troubled with dropsical symptoms on his return from the war of Metz,* which remedy cured him, and should God grant that it take the same effect on the Bishop of Winchester, it will be very advantageous for England, he being considered one of the most consummate chancellors who have filled the post for many years, and should he die he would leave few or none so well suited to the charge as himself.

The Captain Marco da Risano came hither to obtain from King Philip, as he did immediately, his absolution from outlawry in Naples, but the writ not having been presented in time, the Government would not admit its validity. He was also licensed to sell and alienate the other gratuities (*utili*) given him by the Emperor in Naples, so he returns perfectly satisfied.†

London, 16th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

216. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian Ambassador with the EMPEROR.

To congratulate the King of England in their name on his well-being and his voyage. Should he hear of the King's determination to go to Spain, to announce that the Signory will send an ambassador to reside with him, the ambassador Michiel having to remain with his most Serene Consort. To do this in case the ambassador Michiel should not have accompanied the King, but if he be with him, is to deliver the accompanying letter, and in case his Majesty

* In the year 1552. See the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar, 1547-1553.

† Of this Marco of Risano, mention has been made in Vol. 3, Venetian Calendar, Preface, pp. xi, xii; and the fact of his presence in England in the autumn of 1555, is now officially confirmed by the Venetian Ambassador there at that time.

1555.

should have returned to England before receipt of the despatch, is to send said letter to the ambassador Michiel.

Ayes, 201. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16.

217. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time.
Printed in Vol. 5,
pp. 41-44,
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi Poli,"
&c., date as
above.

As nothing can be more agreeable to him than to obey the commands received from the King on his departure, he thus serving God, the Church, his Country; and the best of sovereigns, informs his Majesty that the Queen passes the forenoon in prayer, after the manner of Mary, and in the afternoon admirably personates Martha, by transacting business; so urging her councillors as to keep them all incessantly occupied, thus mitigating her grief for the King's absence, fancying him present in their persons. Her chief consolation is the hope of his return, and by following the course pointed out by him; matters thus proceed becomingly and rightly, and yet better will they proceed on the return [from Brussels] of the personages appointed by the King to take part in the government,* but best of all when the King himself shall be present, as they have already commenced perceiving the truth of the saying "*oculus Domini*;" and as the eye of the Queen has produced such an effect, that of the King will leave nothing to desire; so daily prayers are made for his return.

By the accompanying letters from Rome is informed that when the Pope heard of his intention with regard to the distribution of the Church property, which their Majesties had permitted, on his Holiness' authority and that of his Legate, he greatly approved of it;† so from day to day Pole awaits the confirmation of what has been done.

Concerning the erection of Ireland into a kingdom, a bull has arrived similar to the one brought by their Majesties' ambassadors, with this in addition, that it was furnished as due with the golden seal.

With regard to the bull, whereby the Church property of England excepted from the Pope's renunciation is mentioned by name, Pole has written for it to be sent immediately; is expecting the return of his messenger (*nuntij*), to whom they purposed giving it for conveyance.

Touching Pole's recall, the Pope said he would form no decision until he knows what has been done in the affair of Canterbury (*in causâ Cantuariensi*), and what can be hoped about the peace, for which he seems vehemently to wish.

Greenwich, 16th September, 1555.

[*Latin, 38 lines.*]

* Namely, Lord Howard of Effingham, and the Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, and Huntingdon, who arrived in London on the 4th October. (See Michiel, 7th October 1555.)

† Cum Pontifici maximo relata fuissent, quæ ipse cogitorem constituere de bonis ecclesiasticis dispensandis, quæ MM. VV. ejus auctoritati, atque ipsius Legato permisissent, ea Sanctitas ejus valde probasse.

1555.

Sept. 17.

Original
Despatch
Venetian
Archives.**218. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

To-day had audience of the King at Villers-cote-Retz ; asked him whether he had news of King Philip's arrival at Brussels, and what he thought might be decided about the passage of one of their Majesties to Spain. The King replied that he had arrived, and that the passage being necessary for the need of Spain, was determined on, though it remained doubtful which of their Majesties would make it, for although the Emperor was not recommended to go, both on account of his health, which his physicians fear could not bear the voyage, as also because the war continuing, his interests would suffer greatly from this move, yet did he seem very anxious to cross, his son in like manner showing himself very ready to go ; but that he (King Henry) thought the decision would be known in a few days. Replied that should some agreement be effected, these difficulties would in great part disappear. The King rejoined, "Cardinal Pole does not fail performing good offices, according to his wont, and keeps this hope alive, but I do not see any point on which to base it, the Imperial ministers conducting themselves in a way to deter me from making peace with them, as through Cardinal Pole and the English commissioners it was agreed heretofore, with the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Bishop of Arras, to negotiate a reciprocal exchange of prisoners, and to send an agent from either side to the frontiers. I on my part sent one, who remained there two months expecting the Emperor's commissioner, and as he never made his appearance I recalled mine ; so it seems to me that these are bad signs, which do not permit me to believe in an adjustment between us."

La Ferté Milon, 17th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
Vol. 69, p. 145.**219. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.**

Have desired the ambassador Badoer, on hearing that the King has resolved to go to Spain, to inform him that they will send an ambassador to reside with the King. As it is also possible that before Badoer receives this order, King Philip may have returned to England before going to Spain, have desired him to transmit this letter to him (Michiel), so that he may execute the commission.

Ayes, 201. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18.

Deliberazioni
Senato (Secreta),
Vol. 69, p. 147,
tergo.**220. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian "BAILO" at CONSTANTINOPLE.**

On the 4th instant, the King of England, the Emperor's son, crossed the sea, and proceeded from Flanders to Brussels, to see his father, the chief personages of the Imperial court having set out to meet him. They have to decide whether one of their Majesties, the Emperor, or his son, should go to Spain. The fleet of the most Christian King and the ships of Flanders, some 50 in number, met off the island of England, and fought during one day, with the

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loss on both sides of some ships sunk and others burned, and the French ships carried into their ports three of those of Flanders.
Ayes, 204. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 3.

[Italian.]

Sept. 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

221. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King and the Queens are gone to the hunt two leagues hence, and return to-morrow.

Brussels, 19th September 1555.

[Italian.]

Sept. 20.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

222. SAME to SAME.

The King sent the Earl of Arundel to tell the ambassador of the Queen his Consort to absent himself from the obsequies, as he had said he would not do, lest between him and the Portuguese ambassador, who also wished to be present at them, some dispute should arise which might prove disagreeable to both sides; and to request him (Sir John Masone) to believe that he (King Philip) had the honour of the Queen as much at heart as his own, he considering it such. Thereupon Sir John Masone chose to go and answer the King in person, telling him that for the honour of the most Serene Queen, and that of the kingdom, he could not abstain from going to the funeral, as neither by reason of antiquity, nor power, nor for any other cause, ought he to give way to the Portuguese ambassador, over whom precedence had been assigned heretofore [to the English crown] by the Popes, and by the Kings of France, the natural enemies of England, and by the Emperor, and that his Majesty therefore should beware of not making the world say things prejudicial to his most Serene Consort, and consequently to himself, but that if the King chose him to do so, he protested to his Majesty that on no other authority than on that of the Consort of his mistress would he do so; and that were he to receive a similar command from the Emperor, he should not obey him; adding (according to his own account, and that of the rest of the English), with much vehemence, a variety of other reasons. To this the King replied, that having been informed by the Portuguese ambassador, that he chose to take precedence of him, not only as King of Portugal, but as being more nearly allied in blood with the Emperor than the Queen of England is, and as the laws and customs in Spain were to this effect, his Majesty hesitated about this casualty, and lest the King of Portugal should complain of him about it, he determined that neither of the ambassadors should attend the ceremony, awaiting some other sort of opportunity, when he promised him to settle the point of precedence; so Sir John Masone departed utterly dissatisfied, the like being the case, on this same account, with all the other English.

On the termination of the obsequies, some of the chief personages of the courts, both of the Emperor and the King, and especially Don Ruy Gomez, having heard of the foul language (*male parole*) which the ambassador kept using, taxed him with indiscretion

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for presuming so strongly to urge the rights of the Queen of England, where her consort was, and that he could not bear any other title than that of agent, as he will be henceforth considered here, alleging that when he went to meet the King, his haughty bearing was such that not only did he not dismount, but would not allow Lord Courtenay to alight; reproaching him also with having informed the Lords of the Council in England by letter, that Lord Courtenay's servants had been maltreated by Spaniards at this court, and that the other English likewise were as ill looked on as possible, which, on his Majesty's return to England, might induce them to do some great harm to his retinue (*a quelli della sua corte*). On hearing these things, Sir John Masone went to see Ruy Gomez, who would not admit him, and also prevented his having audience of the King; whereupon he was heard to say, by several persons, "*Oh God! if the King treats me so ill, I who was of his faction, following Lord Paget in favouring the marriage, what will he do to those who opposed him?*"

On the morrow the ambassador went to the King, at the time when his Majesty appeared in public, to make his apology, saying that he did not get off his horse, to avoid impeding the King's progress, and adding other things to justify himself. Not only did his Majesty receive him coldly, but after hearing his excuses ordered him like a servant to tell the English Lords here to keep in readiness to go to a hunt, prepared by the most Serene Queen Maria, to use his own words, "for us English" (*per noi altri Inglesi*), sending a horse for each of them, because they had come with the King postwise [and therefore had no horses of their own]; nor did he invite Lord Courtenay, because (it is said) the Bishop of Arras having sent one of his brothers to invite him to a supper at which the rest of the English were present, Courtenay had him told he was not at home.

These English Lords evince a great wish to return home, all complaining of the exorbitant cost they are compelled to incur here by reason of the great scarcity, and the Earl of Pembroke says that without having horses 40 crowns a day do not suffice him for his ordinary expenditure; but according to report they will not all be allowed to depart, and some of them, should they choose to go away, will leave their eldest sons [as hostages?].

The Emperor has sent to Antwerp for 10,000 crowns' worth of jewels, and it is supposed that he purposes making presents of them to these [English?] Lords. Couriers arrive daily from the Queen of England, and are despatched to her, and to-day one of her chamberlains came to the King, as also the Lieutenant d'Amont [Simon Renard], who resided as ambassador with her from the Emperor.

Brussels, 20th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20.
Senato Terra,
vol. 40, p. 59.

223. MOTION made in the SENATE concerning costs incurred by the Venetian Governors of Verona, in honour of Viscount Montagu.

By order of our Signory our Governors of Verona expended 440 ducats in doing honour and making presents to the Duchess of Alva,

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as also to the most illustrious the Lord Viscount Montagu, ambassador from the most Serene the King and Queen of England.

Put to the ballot, that our treasurer "*alla cassa grande*" do credit the Government of Verona, on account of the subsidy of 1554, with the 440 ducats aforesaid.

Hieronimo Zane, S.C.

Andreas Baduario, S.T.F.

Ayes, 162. Noes, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$. Neutral, 0.

1555, die 6 Sept. in Collegio.

Ayes, 16. Noes, 2. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25.
Filza, No. 134.
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

224. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Mr. ENGLEFELD.

The return of the bearer of this affords him an opportunity of writing; "and yet, because it were very long to write all I have to say, and for that at this present I have not such leisure as convenient I may impart my whole mind unto you by writing; I have committed unto him the particular declaration of all such things as I am desirous you should understand touching my case here." Asks an answer at his leisure.

Has drawn a balance of 77*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.* which remained surplus after disbursements in Walker's hands, as appeared by his account book. "Was constrained, for that I was unfurnished of money," though he is aware that Englefeld and his other friends had destined that sum for certain of his creditors.

Has signed two blank parchments, the one conferring a vacant prebend on Walker, the other giving a vacant benefice in Cornwall "unto my chaplain Sir Gryffyth."

Brussels, 25th September 1555.

[*Draft; last paragraph cancelled.*]

Sept. 26.
Original
Despatch.
Venetian
Archives.

225. The EMPEROR CHARLES V. to ———, Count of ———, in the Netherlands.*

My Cousin,—having conferred (*communicato*) with the King of England, my son (who has lately come into these provinces), about the affairs of our kingdoms and states, considering my personal indisposition, on which account I am henceforth unable, as done by me hitherto, for the defence and preservation of my countries here and their subjects, to undertake the journeys and toil they require, I, for these causes and other good considerations, have determined and resolved to visit my countries and kingdoms of Spain, and to cede absolutely to the said Lord King the said countries here, in which some time ago† he was received and sworn to for my sole and only heir, as future Lord and Prince. And although I greatly wished, before my departure hence, to visit the said provinces, I nevertheless find that, by reason of my indisposition, I could by no means bear such fatigue; so it has seemed better to me to cause there to be summoned hither, for the 14th of October, the principal lords and states of the said provinces, to make the afore-

* See despatch of Federico Badoer, dated 2nd October 1555.

† "In 1548, Philip was sent for by his father to receive the oath of allegiance from the States of the Netherlands." (*See Stirling, Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V., pp. 1, 2.*)

1555.

said cession solemnly in their presence, according to my resolve, and that they may receive the said Lord King as their Prince and Lord; of which thing, most dear cousin, I have chosen hereby to give you this notice beforehand, and at the same time to order you to attend on the said day, and favour this renunciation, and without fail to receive the said Lord King for your Lord and Prince.

May our Lord God preserve you.

From the city of Brussels, 26th September 1555.

(Signed) CHARLES.

[Translated into Italian from the French by the Venetian Ambassador, Francesco Badoer.]

Sept. 26.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

226. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL CARLO CARAFFA.

Is very sorry to hear what Caraffa writes to him about the Cardinal Chamberlain,* both for his own sake and on many other accounts, most especially by reason of the regret which he is very certain it will have caused the Pope, to make such a demonstration against such a son (*un tal figliolo*), but is much comforted by his hope in the Pope's paternal benignity, and that the galleys which gave rise to this mischief being restored (as he trusts has been already done), his Holiness will show himself a merciful and clement father, and thus gratify the kindness of his nature (*la benigna sua natura*) much more than by preserving his own dignity and that of the Apostolic See (as Caraffa says he has been compelled to do), giving at the same time great satisfaction to those whom Pole is very sure his Holiness would by no means distress (*contristare*), and especially the King of England, who is so obedient a son to him, and so well deserving of the Apostolic See. Being unable to do more about the see of Trani by word of mouth, has made amends by writing to his Majesty. Since the King's departure has been always here at Greenwich with the Queen, in accordance with the wish and request of their Majesties. Caraffa will have heard that Parliament is to meet towards the end of next month, when it is hoped the King will have returned. Has nothing more to say about the peace, which he will take every opportunity to farther, according to the pious intention of his Holiness.

Greenwich, 26th September 1555.

[Italian.]

Sept. 26.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Printed in Vol. 5,

pp. 15, 16,

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli,"

&c.

No date of time

either in the

manuscript or in

the printed

volume.

227. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

Was pained to hear by the letters of Cardinal Caraffa what had befallen the Cardinal Chamberlain (*Cardinalis Camerarii*), both on account of his friend and colleague, and because, although the Pope loved him like a son, he had been compelled to act thus unwillingly, as unless the root of this offence were severed immediately, it might cause yet greater inconvenience, Pole comforts himself with the hope that everything may soon be pacified, having heard that the Emperor and the King of England have willingly conceded the restitution of the galleys taken from the Pope's harbour, in which case he trusts his Holiness will pardon Sforza, considering the

* Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal "Camerlengo" of the Roman Church, imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo for having caused two French galleys to be taken from Civita Vecchia to Naples, and on account of his Imperial bias and hostility to the Pope and to France. (See Cardella, *Lives of the Cardinals*, vol. 4, pp. 140-143, and Andrea Morosini, *Venetian History*, vol. 2, pp. 259, 260. Ed. Venice, 1782.)

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nature of these difficult times and the King's intercession. Pole desires this by so much the more as he wishes the Pope to succeed in effecting a general reconciliation, and in freeing Christendom from the present most destructive war, as treated by the Pope on his accession, and in accordance with the orders given by him to Pole.

Greenwich, 26th September 1555 (?)*

[Latin, 25 lines.]

Sept. 28.
Original
Despatches.
Venetian
Archives.

228. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Arduino, the Protector of the "patrimony" of the kingdom of Sicily, has been twice to the King of England, and after representing to him the state of the revenues there, which were pledged for 900,000 ducats, and that the 10 galleys which ought to be paid by the "chamber" would be compelled to disarm, because they are not paid, he told him that, should his Majesty trust him, he would, within four years, not only free him from debt and heavy interest, but find means to pay the galleys, and save an additional 150,000 crowns annually upon the ordinary expenditure (*che trarrà cento e cinquanta mille scudi all' anno di più dell' ordinarie spese*), all which would be effected solely by removing Don Juan de Vega from the government of that island, as all the Sicilians who are at Brussels, and demand this, will give a donative of some 400,000 crowns; and that his Majesty, by ridding himself of a minister who perplexes all the officials and every good regulation in that kingdom, will obtain the advantages formerly enjoyed by the Emperor, and much greater ones. The King in his reply evinced more inclination to adopt his suggestions than he did when speaking to the Marquis of Terranova, who entreated him to remove this Viceroy, lest he drive to greater despair the already desperate Sicilians; and his Majesty desired him to return this evening to speak to him on the subject.

There came hither with the King of England a Spaniard, sent by the feudatories in the Indies to obtain [a decree] from the Emperor, that the estates conceded by him to some persons for life, and to others for themselves and their children, may descend to their heirs and successors, offering within 10 years to bring to Spain as much gold and silver as will free the revenues which are pledged until the year 60 (*fino nell' anno 60*), stipulating that on this account, and in order that he may make use of the sum for his other necessities, they, during the aforesaid 10 years, will give him annually a million of gold. Concerning this matter several consultations have been held, and as the term within which the money is to be paid seems too long, and yet greater the suspicion lest they in the end elect a king of their own, alienating themselves from the Spanish crown, everybody considers the business most difficult to decide, especially because they think that by penetrating farther into the interior of the country, and finding new nations, they may be able to enslave

* I derive this date from the Italian letter written by Cardinal Pole to Cardinal Camilla on the same subject.

1555.

them. They offer other similar terms, part of which were proposed heretofore and rejected.

Brussels, 28th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

229. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England, in reply to the King's letter about her armed ships securing the Emperor's passage to Spain, seems ready to accommodate him, and some say that should his Imperial Majesty please she will come to some place at the sea side to see him; for which the King, thanking her, wrote back, that in order to be nearer her he will go and reside at Bruges, a day's journey from Calais; and it is said that the Emperor will avail himself of part of the 4,000 Spaniards with the army and on the frontiers, to whom five arrears of pay (*cinque paghe*) have been sent, and to-morrow payment of the court salaries will commence.

The Duchess of Lorraine, understanding that no determination has been made about her remaining here or going to Spain, requested Queen Maria to obtain permission for her from the Emperor or the King to go and live in Italy, in her city of Tortona, from whence she derives the dower left her by the Duke of Milan, asking as a favour the palace or castle of the Marquisate of Vigevano, as it is near at hand, and a very stately and delightful residence. In reply the Queen told her to be of good cheer, as the Emperor would treat her not merely like a dear niece, but as a dear daughter.

Don Ruy Gomez and Don Juan Manrique continue saying that the Emperor's departure will not take place so speedily, and I have heard from the Nuncio that the chief cause of the delay is to see what the Pope will determine on after the restitution of the galleys, as should he declare himself the Emperor's open enemy, his Imperial Majesty will not quit the Netherlands, as King Philip cannot avail himself of Germany as the Emperor does, nor will he rely on assistance from the King of the Romans, the good will between all these kinsfolk not being such as required by their close relationship. Several persons say the Emperor has circulated this report to facilitate the business which King Philip has to treat in the English Parliament, and to obtain a larger sum of money from these provinces, to whom he has notified by letter that on this his departure he would willingly have gone to see them in person, had he not been prevented by indisposition; so he requested them to assemble at Brussels on the 14th of next month, when he would tell them what he had to say, wishing to leave his son as his successor, from whom he was certain they would receive such satisfaction as they could desire in matters of justice, and in their defence against enemies.

His Imperial Majesty's departure causes a general lament, it seeming to the Flemings that with him security departs, as likewise all the welfare enjoyed by them through his authority and prudence, and by reason of the demonstrations of goodwill made by him

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towards this nation in preference to that of Spain, and they are apprehensive lest the King, being much more partial to the Spaniards than to any of his other subjects, should give them many high official posts (*molli governi*), and lest the present war be protracted without the requisite pecuniary supply, the King being at present without money, and the Duke of Savoy (who will, they fear, be made their governor) very poor indeed, and the troops on these frontiers, both horse and foot, creditors for very considerable sums, whilst the ministers say that since last March they have paid 1,350,000 crowns.

I have heard that before the Secretary Finzino [Pfintzing, or Phintzing?]* went to the King of the Romans many consultations were held as to whether the Emperor should give absolutely the administration of the affairs of the whole empire to the King of the Romans, or reserve the authority over those of Italy for his son, with the title of his "Vicar" there; and in like manner as this would be greatly to the repute and advantage of the King of England by reason of his Italian possessions, and those which have always been dependent on the Emperor, so would this division not only dissatisfy the King of the Romans and the King of Bohemia (especially as this last is heard to have openly adopted Lutheran opinions), adding new grievances to the old ones, but so alarm the princes of the empire as to induce them to take some hostile step against his Imperial Majesty;† and although I have been told by a person of quality that the Emperor has already arranged to give this charge to his son, yet I have understood that until the return of the Secretary Finzino this cannot be asserted positively, and the Vice-Grand Chancellor of the Empire, who has arranged his affairs so as to go and reside with the King of the Romans (*S. M. Reg.*), says he has orders not to depart until the return of the said Finzino.

King Philip goes twice every day to the Emperor, in the morning, solely to pay his respects to him, and in the afternoon to transact business, and on every festival he goes to mass in various churches here for the satisfaction of the inhabitants.

Brussels, 29th September 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 30.
Filza, No. 134.
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoseritti,
Venetian
Archives.

230. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Mr. ENGLEFELD.

"I most heartily thank you for your gentill letter which by Mr. Bassat this messenger I have received." Thanks him for his great services, "manifold and incomparable." Refers him to Bassat for the news.

Brussels, 30th September 1555.

[*Draft or copy.*]

* I derive this name from letters addressed by King Ferdinand to the Emperor, dated Augsburg, 26 September 1555, and Vienna, 31 October 1555, published by Dr. Karl Lanz (*Correspondenz des Kaisers, &c.*, vol. 3, pp. 685 and 690, ed. Leipzig, 1846).

† *Qualche atto non buono contra sua Maestà Cesarea.*

1555.

Oct. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**231. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

Four days ago an embargo was laid on all vessels in the river, even those of private merchants, in order again to fit out the fleet for the return of the King, the Queen having become very angry when she heard that to save expense the one which took his Majesty across had been dismissed and disarmed. Thus has it been done accordingly, fresh stores of victuals being laid in for the said fleet, the outfit being speeded so that by the 10th or 15th proximo it may be ready to sail for Calais, where, as confirmed daily, the King will arrive, to be here at the opening of Parliament. *I am now told moreover by certain English personages of authority that it may also treat the succession of the kingdom, in the event of the possible demise of the most Serene Queen without children, either for the purpose of utterly disallowing as illegitimate, and consequently incapable, Mylady Elizabeth, although appointed heir by the will of her father King Henry (manando come potria avvenir la Serenissima Regina senza figlioli, ò per reprobar in tutto come spuria et per conseguente inhabile la persona di miladi Helisabet, benchè instituita per testamento herede dal Re Henrico suo padre), or else disposing of the succession in another form, or else again to approve of the said Elizabeth, and confirm her in the succession by fresh authority and a fresh choice (novo voler) of the kingdom; there being also a talk of marrying her to some foreign prince; which result, whether effected in one way or the other, provided it come to pass, will be announced to your Serenity from Brussels and from France.*

I understand that the Abbot of San Saluto receives frequent advices about the affair of the peace, and confers occasionally with the French Ambassador here, though, despite the utmost assiduity, I have not succeeded in learning any particulars, save that everything remains dormant until the King's return.

The Chancellor is this day sending one of his gentlemen express to Rome with the process and [examination?] drawn up afresh against the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Queen strongly urging his Holiness to despatch the trial, that they may forthwith [appoint?] a new Primate; and as the choice is to fall on the most illustrious Legate, it may possibly yet be made in time for him to take his seat and vote in the next Parliament, into which, although a member of the royal council, he would not be admitted unless as bishop or archbishop of some English church.

The ships "Barbara" and "Vianuola" have arrived safe at Margate, so that there will be much business to transact on account of these vessels, besides the many disputes of daily occurrence with the crews. It is necessary for their sake and that of the other merchants resident in England, that a consul should be elected, the post having now been vacant for five or six years, to the diminution of your Serenity's authority and privileges here; and I again request that you will charge the proveditors for the London factory to frame and expedite the motion for the election of the said consul.

London, 1st October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1555.
Oct. 2.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

232. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The post-master of Augsburg having been sent by the King of the Romans to the Emperor, arrived here yesterday, bringing the "recess" of the Diet,* and separately the articles established in the matter of the religion, that the Emperor may sign them. Shortly afterwards the secretary Phinzing came with an autograph letter† of three sheets from the King of the Romans, apologizing to His Majesty for having been unable either to prolong the Diet as the Emperor desired him to do, or to oppose the Acts passed by it, and which he terms "perpetual peace between Catholics and Lutherans." Concerning the religion‡ it is said that his Imperial Majesty cannot as Emperor, nor ought he nor will he as a Catholic, sign these articles, having refused his consent to them some months ago. Although this decision has displeased both the Imperial court and that of King Philip, they nevertheless say that in the midst of so much mischief there is this good, that the King of France will thus lose the chief foundation of his popularity in Germany and the assistance of many of its inhabitants. With regard to the administration of the empire, the King of the Romans is of opinion that, for many sage respects, the Emperor should leave it to him entirely, as he did heretofore when he went to Spain, without giving the title of Vicar in Italy to the King of England, a thing which might cause much scandal, but that, nevertheless, touching his own private interests, he refers himself to the Emperor's prudence and affection. I have heard some of the King of England's servants say that the King of the Romans does wrong to thwart the Emperor's intention by language of such a sort, and by not allowing the Emperor, during his lifetime, to do what he can for the benefit of the Italian possessions of his son, whose authority must necessarily cease entirely on the Emperor's death.

The Emperor has had a number of letters (written in the French tongue) despatched to all the Lords of these States, requiring them to be here for the 14th instant, in order to be present at the cession of the said States, which he purposes making in favour of his son, letters of the same tenour being addressed to all of them, and to the cities and towns and every small jurisdiction. It is said that this term is made to precede the meeting of the English Parliament, because the Queen has written to King Philip that she understands many people in the kingdom think it strange to talk of crowning him, he not having yet received from his father the cession of his patrimonial States, although it is known that his Majesty, and no longer Queen Maria, has the government of them in his hands, for which reason it is said he will soon go and take possession, and obtain such donatives as are usually made on similar occasions. The Queen also wrote back to him that she cannot accommodate him with the 15 additional ships which she has at sea in ordinary

* This letter, dated Augsburg, 24th September 1555, is printed in the "Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.," published by Dr. Karl Lanz, vol. 3, pp. 683-686. Leipzig, 1846.

† See Lanz, as above, pp. 686, 687.

‡ The proceedings of this Diet are recorded in Foreign Calendar, Mary, entry No. 421, p. 189, date Brussels, 8th October 1555, but without any allusion to the title of Imperial Vicar in Italy, as demanded by the Emperor for the King of England.

1555.

(*quindici navi di più ch' ella tiene armate ordinariamente*), but that she will detain certain merchantmen until the time of the Emperor's voyage to Spain. She has also sent the King some game pasties (*alcune salvaticine acconcie in pastizzi*), which, as shown by him in public, he prefers to other viands. The Spanish soldiers on these frontiers having sent to the King (by reason of the Emperor's long delay) for pecuniary supply, being creditors for many arrears of pay, he replied that he knew the Emperor had already destined them five months' pay; but when the courier rejoined that this might be delayed some days, and that the soldiers could no longer wait, as many of them were dying of hunger, the King then desired one of the "maggiordomos" to send them a certain sum for subsistence immediately; and when the maggiordomo told his Majesty that the treasurer had only sufficient ready money for household purposes, the King rejoined, in a way which was much commended, that the household must dispense with it, and that he was to send them the sum immediately.

Brussels, 2nd October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

233. CARDINAL POLE to PETER VANNES.

Perceives by his letter about the collectorship that Vannes has been misinformed about what Pole did in this matter, in like manner as he erred in supposing that Pole had been misinformed about Vannes' disposition towards him, as he had never heard from anyone that it was otherwise than good, Pole's having always been the same towards Vannes, although in this matter of the collectorship [of Peter's pence] he did not think it fitting to exert himself in his favour, observing also the same course with regard to others, and leaving it to the Pope to decide as he pleased. It is true that Pole's agent informed him that it having been suggested to the Pope to give this collectorship to the person who came to serve him in his legation as Auditor, he (the agent) did his utmost to prevent the Pope from being moved from his purpose of making the appointment as he did. This may have made Vannes suppose that the agent did so by Pole's order, whereas in fact he knew nothing about it until after the conclusion, which, however, did not seem to him otherwise than very fitting, by reason of the many merits of his Auditor, and his toil in England. And to tell Vannes freely his opinion, although with regard to the past Pole has compassion for Vannes, and for the others, yet nevertheless Vannes' fall and fault (*caduta et mancamento*), seem to him such as should be considered the more serious as he was then a minister of the Pope holding this office [of collector], so that Pole would consider it more fitting for him to receive benefit from this reconciliation in any other way than that of retaining this office. But in like manner as Pole had no occasion to interfere in this matter, so will he always be ready on any other opportunity to demonstrate his goodwill towards Vannes.*

Greenwich, 4th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* I am unable to ascertain in what year Vannes renounced the collectorship, nor do I know the name of Pole's auditor who succeeded him; but see Turnbull, Nov. 25, 1554.

1555.

Oct. 4.

Dispacci, Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7, B.

234. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and COUNCIL OF TEN.

The persons from whom I write having heard what is contained in the public letters are Cardinal Medici* and the Duke of Urbino,† who, with much affection and reverence for your Serenity, told me that I should always know what passes through their hands, as if I had been present. The Duke conversing with me said, "I am not the Pope's counsellor, but his captain, and although I have always desired an opportunity to prove myself in nowise degenerate from my ancestors, yet am I not so anxious for war, as not to prefer the benefit of him I serve to my own, which might be derived by me through it. Should the Pope ask my opinion, as he says he will in everything, I shall not fail to tell him freely, that the quarrels between his Holiness and the Emperor are not such as ought to give cause for so important a war as this would be, in which the interests of all Italy are so deeply concerned, and that I know not with what forces of his own, nor through what assistance from his friends, he can hope for a good result from it, all our troops being necessarily (*havendo ad esser*) disorderly and raw, and having to do with an enemy provided with good and veteran soldiers; and that wars should be waged with the hope of gaining and acquiring something, nor do I see how such a hope could be entertained by the Pope, who might be sure of preserving his own state, as in the present times it is not for the Emperor's advantage to make himself fresh enemies; that an eye must be had to the Pope's want of money, and to the present scarcity of everything at Rome, which cannot expect supplies of many things save from the kingdom of Naples and from Sicily; and that of the promises of the King of France both of foreign troops and money made through his ministers here, the Pope could avail himself solely with delay and difficulty." His Excellency also expatiated to me on the mode whereby the Emperor, at small cost, might do great mischief to this See Apostolic, and bring it to a bad pass, namely by way of Germany, great part of which desires nothing but its oppression and debasement (*l'oppression et bassezza sua*). He also alluded to the last sack of Rome, and to the position of the papal territories in the midst of those of the Emperor and the Duke of Florence.

Rome, 4th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4.

Original
Letter Book
pencs me,
Letter No. 4,
p. 4.

235. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The dispute between the Pope, and the Emperor and his ministers,‡ has increased since the receipt by the Imperial am-

* The Milanese Gianangelo de' Medici, who succeeded Paul IV. with the title of Pius IV.

† Guido Baldo II., fifth Duke of Urbino. For his biography, see Dennistoun's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, vol. ii. pp. 78, 117.

‡ Dispute caused by the arrest on the 31st August 1555, and imprisonment in Castle St. Angelo, of the Emperor's adherent Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal Santafiora, *Camarlingo della Chiesa Romana*. His arrest is mentioned in a letter dated Rome, 2d September 1555, to King Philip and Queen Mary, from Sir Edward Carne. (See *Foreign Calendar*, p. 183.) This was the commencement of those acts which caused the war between Paul IV. and Charles V.

1555.

ambassador* of letters from his court dated the 19th ultimo, purporting that his Majesty had refused audience to the Nuncio, who was told by Monsignor di Narni, that unless the Pope released the Cardinal "Camerlengo," and other friends and servants of his Imperial Majesty, and abstained from acts derogatory to his the Emperor's dignity, he would come in person to maintain it. The court had not yet heard of the seizure of the estate of the Lord Marc' Antonio Colonna, nor of the voluntary surrender of those three castles, about which there was a lawsuit between the Colonnas and the Prince of Sulmona, into the hands of the Imperial ambassadors; neither was anything known about the interception by the Pope's agents of several despatches, which were opened by them, they having been forwarded to and fro between Rome and Naples by the Imperialists, some moreover being addressed by the ambassador to the Emperor, whose anger when acquainted with all these things may be expected to augment.

The Pope, being irritated by the letters from Brussels, summoned Consistory for the 2nd, with the intention of announcing to the Cardinals that he was bent on war, in order not to be anticipated, and that he might be able to resist in time those who purposed attacking him (*a chi havesse animo di offenderla*); but when Consistory assembled, a right reverend cardinal, the one who told me what I am now writing, went to his Holiness, and said to him that the last thing and the most easy, was to wage war (*era il rompersi*), and that therefore his Holiness should proceed with a little more reserve, and remember that he was universal father, from whom alone the pacification of these two princes [Charles V. and Henry II.] was hoped, and that if he made himself a party and the enemy of one of them, it would then be quite desperate; to which the Pope replied, "What business is it of the Emperor's if I choose to punish a subject of mine (*un mio suddito*); what would you have me do?" The aforesaid cardinal rejoined, "Holy Father! with Princes certain regards are necessary, as for instance, should it be chosen to proceed against a friend of the Emperor or of the King, to let their Majesties first of all hear the causes, and justify one's self; but be this as it may, I would for the benefit of this See Apostolic, and of Italy, that your Holiness should commission such cardinals as may please you, to confer together, and endeavour to find some expedient for allaying these disturbances." To this the Pope assented, and having called S. Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], Carpi [Ridolfo Pio], Augsburg [Otho Truchses], Morone, Cueva, and Medici, who are all considered of the Imperial faction, and choosing Cardinal Caraffa to be the seventh, his Holiness in their presence commenced justifying all his proceedings, giving them to understand that what he had done hitherto he did because thus was it fitting (*perchè conveniva così*); and he charged them to confer together, and consult about the means for allaying the present disturbances, giving them also leave to discourse with the Imperial ambassador,

* Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis de Sarria, who made his entry into Rome on the 6th July 1555. (See letter from Sir Edward Carne, 16th July 1555, Foreign Calendar, p. 179.)

1555.

should the Imperialists choose to come to fair terms they would find his Holiness quite disposed towards the commonweal, and were they to act otherwise he should not fear any sovereign, as the Lord was on his side.

On the morrow these seven cardinals assembled in the house of the Cardinal S. Giacomo, where there was also the most illustrious the Lord Duke of Urbino, who arrived in this city the day before with 10 posters (*con 10 poste*), and the Count of Montorio. For the moment they did not choose the Imperial ambassador to be present, lest all hope of devising an adjustment should be quite lost through his punctiliousness and language with regard to Cardinal Caraffa.

As soon as they met, after saying many things about the Emperor and the Pope, touching their intentions and designs, on coming to the particulars for which they had assembled, it was said that in order to find some mode of adjustment, they must first of all arrange for disbanding the Papal and Imperial forces now on foot, concerning which two difficulties had arisen; the first, that the Imperial ambassador declares he had received a promise from the Pope's own lips, that should the Imperial troops withdraw he would be content to retain solely 1,000 foot and 400 horse, and that his Holiness now said he should remain in arms (*armata*) with 2,000 foot and 800 horse; which difficulty seemed important, not so much for the thing itself, as because it concerned the honour of the ambassador, who had already announced it, and also of the Pope, who said the contrary, and chose to be at liberty to do what he pleased in his own territory (*in casa sua*). The other difficulty consisted in its having been said in the Pope's name, that he did not see by what means he could secure himself against the Emperor and his ministers. To these two difficulties, a personage who wishes for peace and quiet replied, that as to the first, 1,000 foot and 400 horse, more or less mattered little, and that for so slight a cause, the road should not be left open for so many inconveniences as would accompany the war. To the second, about being guaranteed, the mode seemed to him very easy, through writings, instruments, bonds, or treaties, by all of which means, if they serve to end wars already commenced, he was of opinion it would be much easier and more fitting for Cardinal Caraffa, the Duke of Urbino, and the Count of Montorio to quit the assembly, and that the Imperial ambassador should be sent for, from whom they might hear his decision (*con li quali tutti modi se si da fine a guerre gia cominciate, credeva che molto più facil cosa, et più conveniente fusse, che licentiati il R^{mo} Caraffa, il Duca, et il Conte, si mandasse à chiamare l'Amb^{re} dell' Imp^{re}, &c.*). Marquis Sarria made his appearance, and repeated all the complaints against the Pope, laying great stress on the opening and detention of their despatches, giving it to be understood that he could no longer remain at this court without derogating from the Emperor's dignity; whereupon the cardinals seeing him almost determined, said to him plainly, "Lord Ambassador, if you depart, there is no longer any remedy, and you will have been the cause of whatever detriment may befall his Imperial Majesty;" which words having moved him, he took time to present a writing, and the congregation (*congregatione*) dissolved.

1555.

The times being so critical, and this negotiation so important, I have chosen to give your Serenity as true and detailed account of it as in my power, adding that a person able to know it has assured me that the Pope is much inclined towards the common weal (*al bene*) and peace, though his kinsfolk (*li suoi*) are impatient for war, and as they can represent things as they please, good offices are suppressed and evil ones exaggerated.

Rome, 4th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct 5.
Dispacci, Roma,
Venetian
Archives,
No. 7. B.

236. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Duke of Urbino has informed me that yesterday he was a long while with the Pope, and told him all the misadventures which might result from the war; so that he thought he had greatly moved the mind (*mosso assai l'animo*) of his Holiness, who said he thanked the Lord God for having made him speak to his Excellency. But the Duke says he does not know how much he can promise himself from the Pope in this matter, as although he saw his Holiness inclined towards peace, he on the other hand perceived Cardinal Caraffa quite bent on war, and performing every possible office to draw the Pope into it, because his right reverend Lordship has assured the King of France of his hope that the Pope will league and ally himself with his most Christian Majesty. The Duke says, moreover, he shall let it be clearly understood, that for his Holiness he will hazard his state and his life, but shall reserve his honour for himself; and that, therefore, for a defensive war he will do everything, but should they choose to invade others and render it offensive, he must know precisely with what forces they would take the field, as on this first occasion he will not do so solely with raw and disorderly Italian troops, at the risk of losing repute; and that in that case he should tell the Pope that he will serve him with sword and tabard (*con la spada et la cappa*), but that his Holiness must assign the command to others; though should sufficient forces be given him he would not fail to do his master service.

Rome, 5th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5?
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date.
Printed in vol. v.
pp. 44, 45.
"Epistolarum
Reginaldi
Poli," &c.
Without any
date.

237. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

Does not think it necessary to tell the King what he and his fellow councillors did when they met at the Chancellor's, who on account of ill health had been forbidden by the physicians to quit his house, as he knows that everything is written to him by Pole's colleagues.*

Concerning the most Serene Queen and her assiduity in the despatch of business, she is so intent on it as to require her energy in this matter to be checked rather than stimulated, for besides passing the greater part of the day in this occupation, she then, should there be anything to write to his Majesty (as is always the

* In date, London, 7 October 1555, Michiel alludes to a cabinet council recently held at Winchester House, the Ministers having come from Greenwich to London for that purpose, so I date this letter Greenwich, 5 October.

1555.

case), this sort of office delighting her extremely, performs it during the greater part of the night, to the injury of her health, as known to the King, who alone can apply a remedy.

Knows nothing more about the affairs of Rome from his own letters than already written by him, and although the correspondence of others contains a variety of news, he at any rate does not doubt but that the Pope will have such regard for the interests of King Philip, as his piety and deserts with the Apostolic See require. The King writes that should the Pope recall Pole he will use all his influence and prayers to prevent it. Assures his Majesty that although after so long an exile his abode in his own country is most pleasant to him, yet is his willingness to remain there induced less by patriotism (*patriæ amor*) than by love of their Majesties' piety, justice, and clemency, a tie which joined him to his country, to which he would otherwise have been as useless as his country to him, and to that tie he most readily submits and delights in it.

Greenwich, 5th October 1555.

[*Latin*, 27 lines.]

Oct. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

238. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

By a gentleman who came express, the Queen of England has sent her consort a ring, with the sole commission to tell his Majesty that she wishes him health, long life, and speedy return.

Last night a courier arrived here from the Cardinal of Trent [Cristoforo Madruccio], with letters for his agents with the Emperor and the King of England, charging them immediately to inform both their Majesties, that the Pope had consented to release from prison Cardinal Santa Fiore [Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal Camerlengo],* on his giving security,† and that from other signs the Pope is evidently devoid of passion with regard to their Majesties' affairs. Don Garcilasso [de la Vega], who had been appointed to perform another office with his Holiness, will nevertheless go to Rome to acquaint him with the resolve about the Emperor's departure for Spain, and with the cession of these States and of the kingdom of Sicily made by him to his son. He will also request the Pope in the name of his Imperial Majesty and of the King of England to reinstate Marc' Antonio Colonna, and to release Camillo [Colonna] and others from prison.

It is also said that Don Garcilasso will be commissioned subsequently to announce the Emperor's departure for Spain to your Serenity.

Brussels, 5th October 1555.

[*Italian*.]

* The arrest of the Cardinal Santafiore, which may be said to have commenced the war between the Emperor and the Pope, took place on the 31st August 1555, and was announced to Queen Mary by Sir Edward Carne on the 2d September. (See Foreign Calendar, p. 183.)

† The Cardinal Camerlengo gave bail for 300,000 crowns, not to quit Rome. (See Cardella, vol. iv. p. 142.) In Foreign Calendar, "Mary," date Brussels, 8th October 1555, there is a letter from Sir John Masone informing Queen Mary that Cardinal Santafiore had been set at liberty on "large surety," and that there was "good hope that Colonna shall shortly be restored to his estate again."

1555.

Oct. 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

239. SAME to SAME.

The King of England has sent a Spaniard into Artois with orders for the 2,000 cavalry to march to the neighbourhood of Marienburg, where the Prince of Orange is with the army, and his Majesty has again sent them money. This the King has done owing to the movements of the French, who have withdrawn their best troops from the frontiers, and are mustering at Marienburg.

Brussels, 6th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

240. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three days ago the Admiral [Lord Steward of Effingham], and the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Huntingdon, who, besides the presents of gold chains brought by them, and which are said to be worth from 1,300 to 1,500 ducats, returned from Brussels, and say they were so well received by the Emperor and the Queens,* and by the whole Imperial court, during their stay there, and throughout the journey so well treated, banqueted, and honoured, that they come home fully satisfied, so that these demonstrations will have advantageously confirmed their goodwill.

They were charged to ask the Queen on their return for 30 armed ships to accompany the Emperor and the Queens in their voyage on board the fleet, which is daily expected under the command of Don Alvaro de Bazan; and whereas on the first arrival of these English noblemen at Brussels it was said and written thence that their Majesties would come hither to see the Queen, so is it now asserted, on the contrary, that they will steer the straight course, without stopping, both to save their own time, and expense to this country, by not setting foot in it. The vessels are being prepared, and will soon be ready; those which are to serve have been detained, and the rest are now released from the embargo.

Although the King's return is spoken of contradictorily, most persons, and principally the Spaniards, saying it will not take place in the whole course of this winter, as the guards and all the rest of the household are ordered hence to Brussels, yet, nevertheless, the Queen's chamberlain, Master Bassett, having returned thence, assuring her he will be here as speedily as possible (*quanto più presto*), but not before the Emperor's departure, her Majesty, who had already commenced complaining, thus remains comforted.

There has also returned from Brussels the nephew of the Abbot of San Saluto, Missier Gasparo, he having been sent back hither about the affair of the peace, concerning which, although both sides have again said that until King Philip's return everything will remain suspended, I know that the Abbot has frequent conferences with the French ambassador, and lately gave him a writing annotated (notata) in Missier Gasparo's own hand, and, I know not whether on this account, as probable, or for some other reason, the ambas-

* Eleanor of Austria, Queen Dowager of France, and Maria of Austria, Queen Dowager of Hungary.

1555.

sador sent an express to France immediately, though what the writing contained, or why *Missier Gasparo* came back, I have been unable to ascertain, despite the utmost diligence. I am told for certain that before the departure hence of the *Lieutenant of Amont*,* ambassador resident here from the Emperor, which took place about a fortnight ago, he had a long conference with the Abbot [*Parpaglia*], the ambassador saying that he would take part in this negotiation, though it is not known whether of his own accord or by command of others, as he is considered a shrewd and active diplomatist, who knows "*di andar a trattato dall' Imperator,*" and he has the reputation of knowing more about the French than the others; so he went away with this. The result of his journey remains to be seen.

The Lord Chancellor has retired hither to his own residence [Winchester House] away from the Court and from business, that he may be better able to attend to his health, of which he has great need, as day by day he becomes worse rather than better; but in matters of importance the government consults him and hears his opinion, there having lately come from Greenwich all the other royal councillors, with Cardinal Pole in person, the session of Parliament being at hand.

London, 7th October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 7?

241. CARDINAL POLE TO KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date.

Printed in vol. 5,

pp. 42-44,

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli,"

&c., without

any date.

Is averse to wearying the King by letter, but knowing that he is always glad to hear of the Queen's health, and how she bears his absence, not merely through her own letters, but also by those of others, above all from those of Pole, whom on departure he especially charged to comfort her in all matters. Writes therefore to say that her Majesty is well, and passes the chief part of the day in prayer and divine service, and part in the transaction of public business, thus consoling herself for the absence of her consort, as written in his former letters, seeing him present either when praying God for his well-being, or when treating with his councillors such matters as have it in view, according to the King's order. Yesterday, when amongst other things the outfit of a fleet was discussed,† the Queen consoled herself greatly with the hope of the King's speedy return, which is earnestly desired by all good men.

Encloses letters addressed to him (Pole) by Cardinal Caraffa, and which pain him, not merely on account of his friend and colleague [Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza], but by reason of the vexation thus caused to the Pope and the King, but trusts that the restitution of the galleys will satisfy all parties. The Pope's regret at having been compelled to take this step is manifested by Caraffa's letters, which are as authentic as a brief (*quæ vim brevis habent*).

* Simon Renard. See the late Mr. Turnbull's Foreign Calendar 1553-1558. Index.

† See Giovanni Michiel, 7 October 1555, where allusion is made to the Fleet, and to the residence of the Court at Greenwich.

1555.

By these letters the King will perceive how anxious the Pope is for his Majesty to gratify him with regard to the see of Trani.
Greenwich, 7th October 1555?

[*Latin*, 29 lines.]

Oct. 8.

Original
Letter Book,
penes Ric.
Letter No. 7,
ff. 13-16.

242. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning Cardinal Caraffa sent one of his gentlemen to me, telling me to be at the palace at the 22nd hour, as his Holiness wished to speak to me. I went accordingly, and being introduced into the Pope's chamber, found four cardinals there, namely, Carpi, Mignanelli, Saraceno, and Medici, and shortly afterwards the ambassador of the most Serene King of England [Sir Edward Carne] came, with whom, and with three of the cardinals (except Carpi, who was talking with the Pope), we remained discussing various matters until his Holiness called the cardinals to him in the same place where Carpi was, and they commenced talking together in so low a tone that all Carne and I could hear was this, that when Carpi and Medici said, "Holy Father, it is better for your Holiness first of all to despatch the ambassadors, as we shall then remain together, and it would be too long a while to keep them waiting." The Pope replied, "We choose them to be present here, that they may write to their princes what we will tell them in your presence, and that of others who are to come;" and thus by degrees there made their appearance the Cardinals Cueva, Burgos, S. Giacomo, Augsburg, Puteo, and Caraffa. His Holiness called both of us ambassadors, and commenced saying very fluently in the Latin tongue as follows:—"We suppose, lords ambassadors, that you are aware of what is passing at the present time. We, then, who did not think of this charge, God having given it us, and being elected to this burden, although incompetent and ill able to support it, we chose to consider what becomes our office; and seeing the affairs of the Church in a bad way, we were quite intent on this reform, in order completely to close the mouths of those who have nothing to talk of but us and our habits (*et delli nostri costumi*), saying that we daily promise councils and fresh reforms without any result being ever witnessed; and to tell you the truth, we know not what answer to make them. Our first thought was and is, with the assistance and counsel of these our venerable brothers, to find means for reforming such matters as necessary, they being in great number; and whilst thinking thus to serve God and support with dignity the grade he has conferred on us, we being intent on this thought with our whole heart, the devil, therefore, who confounds everything, and sets in motion all the infernal furies whose ambition is never satiated, plotted not only against this Holy See, as we know for certain, having spies in several places, and indeed everywhere, but against our life, and the life of our relatives (*et a quella delli nostri*); nor, lords ambassadors, can we say this without pain and much sorrow. The things are certain, nor is there any doubt of them; they will be revealed in due season, and they have therefore compelled us to arm; nor shall words persuade us to disarm, for we very well remember what befell Pope Clement, who having

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received fair words from the ministers of the present Emperor, had scarcely dismissed his soldiers ere there took place that horrible capture of Rome and that fatal and frightful sack, than which there was perhaps never one more cruel nor more iniquitous. What class of men, which sex did they spare? What sort, we will not say of outrage, but of impiety did they omit? And we say for certain, and believe we speak the truth, that was the greatest act of cruelty ever perpetrated at any period, for at other depredations of cities and empires it was impossible in the first flush of victory to prevent mischief, but the fury of the moment being allayed, men then returned to their senses, nor did a sack ever last more than two or three days at the utmost. This unhappy and miserable city was sacked for 10 consecutive months, during which Rome endured every sort of tyrannical violence: This example moves us greatly, and we have it before our eyes; nor, so far as depends upon ourselves, will we be taken unawares and deceived, as Pope Clement was. We well know that our forces are feeble, but our cause is that of God, who founded this see, and will defend it; and although, as known to you, magnifico ambassador" (and this he said turning towards me), "there have been many who sought to destroy it, they nevertheless could not succeed in doing so, and they and their descendants ended horribly, history abounding with these facts. This supremacy of the Church must be given to the first city in the world, it having been *Domina gentium*, and of which He said, *Imperium sine fine dedi*, so we hope it will be perpetual as the world. We therefore wish to preserve it; so our mind being entirely bent on peace, we will not make war, unless provoked and induced by necessity. Were men satisfied with their own, and did they not seek and create opportunity for occupying what belongs to others, everybody would enjoy quiet. We sent for you that you might communicate to your princes what is aforesaid, and before repeating it elsewhere we thought fit to perform this office with you, as we shall moreover do with regard to what may happen from time to time." The Pope then ceased speaking, and the ambassador of the most Serene King of England, the eyes of all the cardinals being fixed on his countenance, said that he would write to his King; and as they expected me also to speak, I thanked his Holiness for this confidential communication; and the ambassador of England and I being dismissed, the Pope and cardinals remained, Cardinal Morone having in the meanwhile joined them.

I leave it to your Serenity to infer what his Holiness meant by repeating this day, in the presence of so many cardinals and of the English ambassador, well nigh the same things as were said by him to other ambassadors from your Serenity, and to me myself repeatedly; but I will mention that my having been called to the palace to-day, which is a day extraordinary, and it being known that in the presence of so many cardinals the Pope addressed himself to me and to the ambassador from England, has given rise to various reports, and some persons came to visit me at unusual hours for news, in which matter I acted with great reserve, as due.

Rome, 8th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

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Oct. 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

243. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Several consultations were held lately, about the affairs of the Duke of Savoy, and as he is to have the government of these provinces, it was determined that the King of England should exhort him to marry, and to take the Duchess of Lorraine, to which he has never chosen to consent, notwithstanding either his Majesty's prayers and persuasions, or the foul language (*male parole*) of Queen Maria, to the effect that he had so long kept her and the Duchess in hope of this. The King being satisfied with the Duke's reasons, that it was not for his advantage to marry, being deprived of his state, and poor, said that he would nevertheless give him the government of these provinces, with the title of Regent as held by Queen Maria, adding those of Lieutenant and Captain General, which it is said will be proclaimed after the Emperor's departure, and that he and the Council with him will go and reside at Mechlin; and according to the Duke, King Philip purposes appointing the Bishop of Arras president (*capo*) of the Council, a thing very much desired by his Excellency. The formation of the Council of State which is to reside with the King in person has also been discussed, and for its president (*et per capo di esso*) the persons proposed are, the Viceroy of Navarre, of Aragon, and of Sicily, and Don Ferrante Gonzaga.

The lords of these provinces, and the deputies of the towns, who were summoned to be present at the cession, which on the 16th instant the Emperor will make to the King of England, have already assembled here, and are expected to announce the decision formed, about the pecuniary supply lately demanded of them.

M. de Praet, Knight of the Order of the Fleece, and the chief in authority with the Emperor in the Council of these provinces, had an apoplectic fit, and died; for which his Imperial Majesty, the King, and Queen Maria have evinced great regret.

Brussels, 10th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 10.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

244. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

Is greatly comforted to hear of the release of the Cardinal *Camberlengo* [Guido Ascanio Sforza] after the restitution of the two galleys, which has much pleased the Queen and the whole court; it being heard that this news produced the same effect on the Emperor and the King; nor does Pole doubt but that the commencement of this mischief being removed, everything will be quieted, and his Holiness be enabled to attend more conveniently to the execution of his holy project for the benefit of the Church, by pacifying these princes. On his departure hence, having appointed eight of the principal members of his council to consult about the most important current affairs of this realm, the King evinced a wish that Pole should attend the consultations (*che Io volessi intervenire a questo consiglio*), and earnestly requested him to do so; to which he replied that saving the due obedience which, as his minister, it behoves him have for the Pope, he would never shun (*non fuggirei mai*) any post assigned him by their Majesties,

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whom he wished to be convinced that they, having in view the end proposed by them, for the honour of God and the advantage of England, his Holiness would be content that he should attend the consultations, as he has done assiduously, together with the Queen, and the other deputies; never, however, choosing to sign the decrees (*deliberation*) like the rest, until he knew the will of his Holiness, whom he acquainted with this invitation by means of his agent, and anxiously awaits the Pope's commands.

Greenwich, 10th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

245. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

It has been said by certain Spaniards of quality, that as the King of the Romans makes a difficulty about consenting to the King of England being Vicar in Italy, the Emperor, who had intended and promised his brother to renounce the empire to him, will now not do so, departing hence without giving him any other administration than he is entitled to by his investiture.

I have been told on good authority that the King of England has written to the Queen his consort, that he is most anxious to gratify her wish for his return, but that he cannot adapt himself to it, having to reside there in a form unbecoming his dignity, which requires him to take part in the affairs of the realm, though with her counsel and that of her councillors; he instancing the following particular, that as in Spain, and at present here, he has ruled absolutely in all things, it would seem too strange to him to go back, without sharing the government of England with her. He also requested her to have justice done on those Englishmen, who from malice plundered and ransacked the house of certain Spaniards, and from what I have heard, they did so in revenge for wounds inflicted at this court on some of Lord Courtenay's servants.* A member of the Queen's Council has written to her ambassador resident with the Emperor, that she will soon recall him with the title of chief secretary, his stay here being no longer necessary as his Imperial Majesty departs for Spain. This news is much regretted, both by him and all the other English at this court; it being known that the like will befall the one accredited to your Serenity, and that her Majesty chooses to gratify her husband by letting the ambassador Vargas† negotiate, he remaining at Venice in the King's name, on the Emperor's departure for Spain.

The Duke of Cleves has sent hither a purveyor to engage a lodging for him and stabling for 200 horse, as he is coming to pay his respects to the Emperor before his departure for Spain, and to visit the King of England.

Brussels, 13th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* On the 28th October 1555, two men were hanged in Fleet Street for "*the robbery of a Spaniard*," as recorded in Machyn's Diary, p. 96, and from Badoer's despatch it may be inferred that the execution took place owing to King Philip's demand for it.

† Don Francisco de Vargas. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary." Index.)

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Oct. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

246. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Besides the outfit of 30 ships to convoy the Emperor on the voyage to Spain, the government also sent lately to put Dover Castle in order and provide what is necessary, so that should the Emperor in passing wish to have an interview with the Queen, he may be lodged and received in that place with less inconvenience to himself, in case, which does not yet seem settled, they determine on seeing each other.

In three or four days her Majesty (as the meeting of Parliament is approaching) will come back to one of her palaces in London, either St. James' or Westminster, and not move again, her hope of the King's speedy return diminishing daily, as the Spaniards who remained here depart hourly, with a mind, so far as they themselves are concerned, not to revisit this country for a very long while.

The execution of the sentences against the heretics has been resumed, it having been ordered recently that the late Bishop of London [Ridley], and Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, be burned alive at Oxford, where they are in prison, there being no hope or visible sign of their choosing to recant.

The merchants of the two chief London companies, the Staplers and the Adventurers, are intent on providing and remitting to Flanders a considerable sum of money, amounting to 40,000*l.* sterling, on account of a debt owed there by the Queen, they being her Majesty's securities; and although in the course of time and in divers manners they are reimbursed by her, yet nevertheless in the meanwhile they are inconvenienced, and consequently suffer loss.

The Lord Chancellor, having retired to his own house away from business,—the great seal remaining in the hands of the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby],—does not only not improve, but loses ground daily, and with difficulty can he go either up or down stairs, so that, unless the hand of God assist him, he can last but a few months.

London, 14th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15.
Filza, No. 134.
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

247. PHILIP, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, King, to [STEPHEN GARDINER] the BISHOP of WINCHESTER.

Reverend Father in Christ, our councillor faithful and beloved.

Report hath been brought to us of thy unsatisfactory state of health, and this news hath not a little troubled us, because on thy health the health of that kingdom seemeth in great part to depend, wherefore on many accounts thou shouldst take care of it; and do thou certify us concerning the same frequently, for as we should feel great grief from its being unfavourable, so from its being satisfactory we shall derive great delight. It remaineth that, as far as thy health allow, thou take care of the affairs of that kingdom (*istius regni rationibus consulas*), but in such wise, as by no means to injure thy delicate health, which we earnestly recommend

to thee, and that with thy invariable prudence thou preside over all affairs, as our love for the most Serene Queen, our comfort, and the general advantage of that kingdom seem to require, which will greatly gratify us. Farewell.

Brussels, the Ides of October 1555.

[*Directed without:*] "To the Reverend Father in Christ, our well-beloved and faithful councillor, the Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor of our kingdom of England."

[*Latin, on paper. Contemporary copy, sent to the Earl of Devonshire in Mr. Basset's letter dated 26th October 1555.*]

Oct. 16.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

248. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The cession of these provinces has been deferred until the 23rd instant, as some deputies from Friesland, who (with all the others, and with the lords who have already arrived here) are to be present have not arrived; some say because the country is again flooded, others because certain inhabitants of those provinces (although ineffectually) opposed sending them to consent to this cession, pretending that on the death of the Emperor they must depend on the Empire as of yore, and not on the Emperor's son (pretendendo morto che sia l'Imperatore dover haver a far con l'Imperio come hebbero antiquamente, et non con il figliol dello Imperator).

It is said that the Emperor will make this renunciation habited in his state robes (*vestita in pontificati*), and the King will then go to Louvain, the capital of Brabant, to swear observance to the privileges, then return hither, and subsequently, after his father's departure, do the like in the other chief towns of these provinces; and for this purpose his Majesty is now studying with extraordinary diligence, in order to understand and speak French better [than he does], so as to be able to negotiate with these lords and other persons of condition who speak no other language, which is here called Walloon (*che qui è chiamato Valon*).

The Electors of the Empire have written to his Imperial Majesty, requesting him, before his departure for Spain, so to adjust the affairs of Germany that hereafter the States (*li stati*) may not experience inconveniences by his absence, and evince their intention either that he do leave such full authority to the King of the Romans as to render it unnecessary for him to send to his Majesty in Spain, or else that he do remain in the Empire. The Emperor has given no answer, either to the Electors or to Don Martin Guzman, who came hither from the King of the Romans to discuss this matter with the Emperor, and it is supposed that he delays it in expectation of the arrival of the Archduke Ferdinand, who comes ostensibly for the purpose of doing homage in his father's name to the Emperor on his determination to go to Spain, yet it is nevertheless believed by many persons that he has been sent for the purpose which the Emperor has determined to effect,* of marrying him to the sister of the Queen of England, that he may succeed to that

* See entry, No. 121, p. 97, date 4th June 1555.

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crown, as his Imperial Majesty's son has no hope of an heir by his consort. Should this come to pass, it is believed that the King of the Romans will consent, and cause his son, the King of Bohemia, to consent likewise, to the King of England being made Imperial Vicar in Italy by the said King of the Romans, on the Emperor's renunciation of the Empire. (*E' nondimeno creduto da molti, che sia stato fatto venir a quel fine, che altre volte ho scritto alla Serenità vostra, esser volontà dell' Imperatore di far che esso Arciduca habbia per moglie la sorella della Regina d'Inghilterra, et venga à succieder a quella corona, poichè il figliuolo di Sua Cesarea Maestà non è in speranza di haver con la Regina successore; et se avverrà ciò, credesi che 'l Re di Romani contenterà, et farà contento quello di Boemia suo figliuolo, che 'l Re d'Inghilterra sia vicario dell' Imperio in Italia fatto da esso Re di Romani, havendo rinontiato S. M. C. esso Imperio.*)

The King of England has despatched a messenger to the Queen to acquaint her with his reasons for having the rest of his retinue (*il rimanente della corte sua*) sent to Brussels, saying that it is from inability to return to her so immediately on account of his many occupations in these Provinces, and because on the Emperor's departure he shall have need of all his servants, in like manner as at present he avails himself of many of his Imperial Majesty's household. Some persons are of opinion that King Philip acts thus in order that during the next session of Parliament the English may comprehend that he is not so anxious to return to that kingdom as they seem to fear (*quanto loro mostrano di temere*), as also fully to convince the Flemings of his love for them, and of his firm resolve to rule them in person, and moreover to tranquillize those in England who do not approve of his making himself absolute master of the country.

He likewise wrote to the Queen that he wishes her to resume as it were spontaneously the negotiations for peace with the King of France, which according to reason will not be so difficult to stipulate with him as it was and would be with the Emperor; praying her besides to mediate so vigorously as to let him know that should he reject fair terms she would bestir herself against him (*si moverà contro di lui*), the causes for the great hatred with the Emperor having come to an end, his Imperial Majesty departing for Spain and having renounced all his states and worldly affairs to her consort.

Yesterday King Philip gave leave to Lord Courtenay to go to Italy or to any other country (*provincia*) he pleased, commending him greatly for this his wish to see the world, and promising him moreover letters of favour wherever he may require them. Subsequently he came to see me twice, telling me that this favour so long desired and sought by him was not only granted with great facility, but that the King urged his departure, which is to take place in a fortnight, and that his chief intention is to reside some time in Venice, and that immediately on his arrival he will go and kiss your Serenity's hand. I congratulated him greatly on his having obtained this satisfaction, assuring him that he would be well received by your Serenity by reason of his excellent parts

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(per le sue eccellenti conditioni), and that he would remain well pleased with the choice made by him of going to see and enjoy the quiet and beauty of so glorious and blessed a city (*la quiete et bellezza di sì gloriosa et felice città*).

Brussels, 16th October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 17-18.

Files, No. 434.
Miscellaneous
di Atti diversi
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

249. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

Thanks for his "special goodness and great gentilnes shewed unto me [in] divers ways at my being at Brussels." Desires credence for bearer in what he has to say. Excuses himself that he has not had time to write since his return to England, as also to show your Lordship the Queen's goodness towards you, the opinion of her Highness' learned counsel touching the sending of your wrytte for the Parliament, the effect and service of that is done by Hummerston your purveyor,* a request of Mr. Secretary Peters' touching the buying or exchanging of a piece of land with your Lordship, the state of my Lord Chancellor, and of all other things, herewith I think fit for your Lordship to understand, I have fully instructed this bearer to declare the same unto you, praying that I may be advised by him again of those things which requireth a [answer?], trusting your Lordship will take in good part these few lines, being constrained to be shorter than I would for want of leisure, as this bearer can declare.

17th-18th October 1555. From England to Brussels.

[*Original holograph.*]

Oct. 19.

Original
Letter Book,
p. 33.

250. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday letters arrived from the Imperial Court dated the 7th, whereby it is heard that Don Garcilasso de la Vega, gentleman of the mouth to that Emperor, had received his commission and was to depart on the morrow, for the performance of good offices with his Holiness.

Rome, 19th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

251. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The most Serene Queen opened Parliament to-day, according to the appointed term (*termine*), coming from St. James', whither she retired (*si è ritirata*) on her return from Greenwich, to sit, as in the last Parliament, on a lofty and well-decorated throne, carried by two mules in the guise of a litter (*venendo come l'altra volta nell' ultimo Parlamento a seder in una grande et ben guarnita sedia, portata da dui muli ad uso di lettica*), accompanied in state (*regalmente*) not only by all the lords, barons, and prelates of the

* I derive from the Domestic Calendar, Mary (pp. 70-72), the correct orthography of the name Hummerston, which in Basset's letter is abbreviated and indistinct.

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kingdom, clad in the habit suited to this occasion, but in addition to these personages by the most illustrious Legate likewise, the Queen having chosen him to attend it, for this day, although not entitled legitimately to a seat in Parliament. After the mass of the Holy Ghost, sung by the Bishop of Ely, and the sermon preached by the Bishop of Lincoln [John Whyte], her Majesty proceeded into the great hall, where, in the presence of all those officially summoned, the Lord Chancellor, having rallied a little, choosing at any rate to be there in order not to fail performing his office on this occasion, made the usual proposal, stating the cause for assembling Parliament, which was in short solely for the purpose of obtaining pecuniary supply. His right reverend Lordship laid before the House the great need of the most Serene Queen, from having on her accession found the revenues of the crown so exhausted and consumed that not only was she unable to avail herself of them for the many and heavy expenses, which he enumerated one by one, incurred by her compulsorily for the honour of the realm, both before and after her marriage,—with regard to which he did not omit to say that King Philip whilst in England had spent much more than her Majesty,—but that having found considerable debts left by her father and brother she had been compelled to make fresh ones for their acquittance, still remaining responsible for a great part of the old ones. Her Majesty in the meanwhile had not chosen to avail herself, as she might have done, of the taxes and subsidy conceded by Parliament to her brother King Edward, amounting to upwards of 1,200,000 ducats, but remitted that sum for the sake of not burdening anyone. Neither did she choose, as she might and ought to have done in justice, to avail herself of the revenues and estates of many of her rebels, amounting to a very considerable sum, but to demonstrate thoroughly her benignity and clemency, she made them a free gift both of their lives and lands. Therefore in the Queen's name the Chancellor requested Parliament, in consideration of the present public necessities, to devise means for their relief, saying, moreover, that at this commencement her Majesty had not chosen to keep this her proposal any longer in suspense, nor allow it to be made by others than by herself, but, proceeding openly, had willed to proclaim and announce it immediately, anticipating such speedy supply as by reason of the great affection of her subjects she felt sure she should witness. The Chancellor added that if any member had anything else to suggest, to the profit and advantage of the realm and for the common weal, he was not to omit doing so, in conformity with the obligation and duty of everybody, nor to fail thus to act readily and willingly as becoming; and his right reverend Lordship having spoken with much more energy (*gagliardamente*) than by reason of his indisposition anyone would have expected, the business of this first day of the session ended. During the next two days they will occupy themselves with the election and confirmation of the Speaker, namely, the member who speaks and proposes for the Lower House, after which the motions and resolutions will be made, and communicated by the writer to the Doge with due diligence. Many of the peers are still absent, but will make their appearance from day to day, though the Earls of Arundel and West-

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moreland have excused themselves on the plea of indisposition, and their apologies have been accepted.

The Queen remains not a little distressed by an order received two days ago from King Philip by Don Diego de Azevedo, his lord steward, for him and the few Spanish noblemen remaining here to cross over to Flanders, together with the Spanish and German halberdier guards, and the pages and stable department, the only part of the household which is to remain being the confessor, with two other Dominican friars (*frati predicatori*), and the chapel. This general preparation for departure, thus daily confirming by facts the remoteness of the King's coming, cannot but, by reason of intense love and longing for her consort, inspire the Queen with doubts of his return, and consequently cause her sorrow, although she is constantly comforted by letters and messages from his Majesty giving fair hope of soon seeing her, and also by the presence of Cardinal Pole, who never leaves her, having apartments here likewise, and residing ordinarily in the palace.

The Lady Elizabeth, who resided permanently with the Queen at Greenwich, has had permission to proceed to a house of her own 17 miles hence; nor during the whole time of her stay at Greenwich did Cardinal Pole ever see her, although they had rooms very near each other in the same palace.

Last week pay was given to the men destined to serve on board the fleet, the whole of which will soon be despatched, 12 vessels having already dropped down the river and put to sea, and they are hastening the outfit of the rest.

Besides the commission given by him to his ambassador resident in Spain, the King of Portugal, for the same purpose, has sent hither one of his gentlemen to the Queen, requesting her not to allow English ships to continue, as they have done for the last three years, their voyages to the Guinea coast, which is under his jurisdiction, as they are injurious to him and his subjects; giving it to be understood that should the English be fallen in with by the Portuguese and by his Majesty's own coastguard lately armed for the purpose, and be maltreated, the Queen must not take it amiss, as he cannot do otherwise than preserve his own coasts, not choosing aliens, nor any but his own subjects, to frequent them or to navigate there.

The Queen referred the matter to her Council, which has not yet formed any decision, as before answering the ambassador they choose to have the rights (*le ragione*) of the parties concerned well understood and examined.

London, 21st October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

252. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Prince of Orange has arrived here from the army, by the Emperor's order, to be present at his Imperial Majesty's renunciation of these states to his son, the Emperor telling him and the other lords the precise causes which had induced him during his lifetime to make this cession and depart for Spain. There were present at this colloquy, the King and all the knights of the Fleece, of which

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order the Emperor gave the King the Grand Mastership (*l'autorità*). The answer made in the name of the assembly to his Imperial Majesty was, that with regard to the cession of the States, of which the King was by right the legitimate successor, they regretted to hear it for no other reason than because the Emperor would consequently execute his resolve of going to Spain, which departure oppressed them (*premeva a loro*), as although his son had great ability, and was adequate to any great administration, yet nevertheless the Emperor's mature prudence, his great authority, and more especial knowledge of the Netherlands (*questi Stati*), and of his powerful enemy the King of France, were apt to produce greater effects for the common weal; adding that they also greatly regretted the determination which they understood had been made by the Queen Maria to accompany his Majesty, as although a certain class, goaded by poverty, had occasionally complained of the numerous pecuniary contributions imposed by her, yet did all in general now much more lament her leaving them, as in these present times her prudence and ability qualified her most admirably for their government and defence. The spokesman of the assembly, without unbosoming himself openly, evinced by several phrases, their dissatisfaction that the Duke of Savoy, or the King's Spanish ministers, should rule these Provinces, saying that the Emperor being most just and conscientious with regard to them, had to beware of the infringement of their privileges, purporting that they were to governed by no one but his Imperial Majesty or the King, or by one of their own nation.

On that day (the 21st) nothing further was determined, his Majesty not having positively settled to make this cession, but decided on it next day, or the day after, hoping that from what was said by Count Horne, the Frieslanders would no longer make a difficulty about coming hither; but in addition to the fact of their not having come, other difficulties have arisen, as the authorities in Flanders (*quelli di Fiandra*), laying claim to a dignity superior to that of the other States, have already shown that they will not consent to the ceremony taking place in Brabant, strongly urging the Emperor, moreover, to restore the privileges of which he deprived them at the time of the rebellion of Ghent; but the authorities of Brabant do not admit the superiority, because their province is a duchy. The authorities of Louvain, on the other hand, saying that should the Emperor determine to make the cession here in Brabant, and not in Flanders, he ought to make it at Louvain, as capital of this Province, and they also require the King to go there previously, to swear a second time to observe many of their privileges, which since the first oath, have been infringed. To remove these difficulties, his Majesty delays making the cession from day to day, although for the last four days an apartment in the town hall has been furnished with tapestries and a canopy.

The Emperor has sent M. d'Andelot a second time to Zealand, to hasten the fitting out of the fleet for his passage, or to make such arrangements as he shall think best for his Majesty's accommodation, and that of the Queens, who, to facilitate the Emperor's departure, he having as yet been unable to make the requisite

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pecuniary supply, offered, especially Queen Maria, to pawn their jewels, in order to raise the money, the King promising and making assignments on merchants in the Netherlands for their redemption at the appointed time. It is said that Queen Maria evinces a yet greater wish for immediate departure, the more she hears of the sorrow expressed by the Flemings at having these Provinces governed by the Spaniards or others; it is also said very publicly that all this is a feint on her part (as practised heretofore with other ministers), as she by no means desires the Emperor's departure, both for her own personal interests, and on account of the present war.

It is heard that the French with 400 cavalry and infantry endeavouring to victual Marienburg, the Imperial Colonel Lazzaro Svendi, with two companies of German foot and a few horse, barred their passage; so there was a skirmish, a few being killed on both sides, and the colonel was wounded; the Spaniards say that the provisions did not get in the second time.

A courier departs to-day for Italy, with orders for the Duke of Alva, for the satisfaction of the Duke of Florence, to appoint a governor in Sienna, and a general of the Tuscan forces, and moreover to assure him that, according to his demand, the Emperor will send him money and every supply in his power for the defence of Sienna and recovery of the places subject heretofore to that city.

The Spaniards say publicly that they believe the Pope has a secret league or understanding with the King of France, and that he has told Duke Ottavio [Farnese] that by comporting himself well in this war he will act to the satisfaction of his Holiness.

The Nuncio's assertions that the Pope is excellently disposed towards the Emperor and the King of England are not admitted.

Brussels, 23rd October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

253. ACT OF ABDICATION of the NETHERLANDS in favour of PHILIP II. by the EMPEROR CHARLES V.

Charles, Emperor. We make known to all men present and to come, that considering that for the future, by reason of the age and indisposition of our person, and from other inconveniences, we shall be unable to make journies, and endure fatigue and toil, as we have done hitherto, for the preservation and defence of our patrimonial states, and other provinces in these parts (*et altri paesi per di quà*), and of our good vassals dwelling therein; and seeing that Philip, King of England and of Naples, our very dear son, is of a competent age to have the government and entire administration of them; in which provinces he was heretofore received, allegiance being sworn to him as our only son and heir for future prince and lord, with the obligation to perform the ritual solemnities as required; and the realm of England being very near these provinces, the said Lord King our son will thus have better convenience for governing and ruling that kingdom and the provinces in these parts (*et li paesi di quà*), and for defending them against the undertakings and assaults of the enemy; we have determined and resolved to visit our kingdoms of Spain, and to withdraw

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thither to live the rest of our age (*età*) in repose and tranquillity, and therefore cede the said provinces to him absolutely; and wishing to carry into effect this our resolve, we, for these causes and other just and reasonable considerations, which in our presence, and that of our son the King of England, we caused to be proclaimed [by Philibert of Brussels?] in full and solemn assembly of the Lords States of the said provinces, relying entirely that they will be content, and receive (as they have already done) the aforesaid King in our name, have spontaneously, and of our frank and free will, authority, and absolute power, ceded, released, and transferred, as moreover by this present act we cede, release, and transfer to our said son, King of England, of Naples, &c., all and whatever there may be of these provinces hereabouts (*di questi paesi di quà*), and the duchies, marquises, principalities, counties, baronies, lordships, villages (*ville*), castles, and the fortresses therein, together with all the royalties (*realtà*), &c. &c.

Given in our villa of Brussels (*Data nella nostra villa de Bruxelles*),* on the 25th of October 1555.

Document transmitted to the Venetian Senate in a despatch from Federico Badoer, dated 26th October 1555.

[*Not printed by Robertson.*]

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

254. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday afternoon the Emperor made the cession of these States to his son, the lords and delegates having requested his Majesty no longer to detain them, by reason of the great scarcity which they experience here, their daily expenditure exceeding 1,200 florins; his Majesty has declared that he made the renunciation in this town solely for his personal convenience, assuring all parties that the King will confirm the old privileges, re-establishing such as are desired, and conceding fresh ones.

His Majesty came from the Villa (*Casino*) through the park on a mule, in a long black gown, wearing the Order of the Fleece, the King of England having gone shortly before him. The Emperor seated himself in the town hall (*nella sala maggiore*), having on his right hand the King, who wore the same Order, and on his left Queen Maria, near whom he made the Duke of Savoy sit, and a little beyond, the Knights of the Fleece, and the lords and delegates of the provinces; all except the Duke remaining with their heads uncovered. A member of the Council of Brussels† then narrated the causes which had induced his Majesty to make this cession, namely, his age and illness; and after other words in honour of their Majesties, he made use of such notarial terms as are ordinarily adopted in public acts of renunciation and cession. The Emperor,

* The site of the Emperor's villa "in the park of Brussels, near the Louvain gate, is "now covered by the national or legislative palace of Belgium." (See Stirling's *Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V.*, p. 13, ed. London, 1853.)

† Philibert de Bruxelles, President of the Council of Flanders. (See Robertson and Mignet.)

apologising for weak memory, with a memorandum in his hand, narrated chronologically what he had done in the course of his life, the toil, inconvenience, and peril undergone by him by sea and land, and his undertakings for the defence of these provinces now joined with England, and of his other realms, for the preservation of the Empire, and for the increase (*accrecimento*) of the religion, saying of each circumstance, "*By the grace of God thus did I,*" "*Thus did it befall me;*" adding that, no longer feeling himself so vigorous as required for the government of so many States, and knowing his most serene son to be equal to the weight of these burdens, he chose to give the remainder of his own life to the service of God, and cede these States, as he had done, and would do others, to the said King, proceeding to this particular, that it might even come to pass for him to return to see them again, the renunciation affording him the comfort of knowing that to them he left a prince worthy of the faith and devotion they had always shown their sovereign, and to the Prince subjects as meritorious as himself (*et al Principe, sudditi corrispondenti al suo merito*). Then turning to his son, he exhorted him to assume this charge willingly for his, the Emperor's, relief; reminding him, above all things, to have regard for the [Roman Catholic] religion and equity.

At these last words the King rose up, cap in hand, and then kneeling before the Emperor, said that he should have wished his Majesty during all the rest of his life to have governed both these and all his other realms, but that as such was his Majesty's firm resolve, he swore to execute the commands given him to the utmost of his power; whereupon the Emperor embraced him, with many tears on both sides, and which were shed by the Queen [Maria], and many others also.

One of the delegates replied in the name of all [his colleagues] that they would have wished his [Imperial] Majesty to grant them the grace, they having lived in safety under the government of the greatest prince who had appeared in Christendom for many centuries, to continue ruling them during the whole course of his life; but as it was the will of God to subject them to this change, they were bound to return Him thanks for having given him such a successor as his royal Majesty [of England], expatiating greatly in praise of him, and coming to the conclusion that they would all obey and serve him willingly; beseeching the Emperor not to leave these provinces, both for his own service and their advantage. The King, after saying a few words in French, as the others had done, desired the Bishop of Arras to reply, in accordance with his goodwill; so his right reverend lordship said that his Majesty accepted the burden willingly, with the hope that the Lord God would favour him, giving assurance that he would have such care of them as became their fidelity and good opinion of him; he, on the other hand, relying on their loving obedience to his ministers and commands; the bishop expressing himself in such a way as to imply that the King desired some pecuniary subsidy for the war. Queen Maria then rose and took leave to speak, saying that if during her regency

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she had in any way failed, it proceeded from the defects of her sex, and not wilfully; and she then gave account, in her usual very masculine manner, of her administration during so many years; whereupon the same delegate, in the name of all the States, greatly commended and thanked her; and finally, in a few words, the Emperor dismissed the assembly. Then, this morning, the States of Flanders and Brabant met in a hall in the Queen's palace to swear fealty to the King; which ceremony will also be performed to-morrow by the other States; and the King has confirmed all the government officials in their posts for one year.

The Archduke Ferdinand, having been met by the Duke of Savoy and the Duke de Medina Celi (who went in the Emperor's name), arrived this evening with sixty posters, and dismounted at the Emperor's villa (*casino*), being accompanied thither by the King, who went as far as the gate of the town to meet him. The Archduke arrived at Louvain, four leagues hence, on the day before yesterday, remaining there until to-day, *some say by the advice of Don Martin de Guzman,* that he might not be present at the renunciation of these States by reason of the claims, which, as mentioned by me heretofore,† his father, the King of the Romans, has, or pretends he has (ò vole haver), upon them; and some because it was written to him that he would do well not to come until after the cession had been made.‡*

Orders have been given by the Emperor for the harbingers to leave for Zealand for the purpose of assigning all the cabins in the ships, and making out the roll of the persons who are to follow his Majesty to Spain. Queen Maria had purposed embarking 200 horses, but the Emperor reduced them to 80, doing the like by the menial servants, not allowing any gentleman to have more than one, and he charged Secretary Erasso to supply the victuallers with money, so that they have already provided every requisite. Don Luis de Avila, general of the light horse and the Emperor's chamberlain, intending to follow him, has resigned his command. The Imperial servants have been to the King, letting him know that, owing to the Emperor's departure, they have been summoned to appear in court, and have been hard pressed to pay their debts for provisions and apparel, and that therefore his Majesty should see to the payment of their arrears; saying also that they were very anxiously expecting the publication about donatives, hoping by these two means to pay their debts. Thereupon the King held a consultation with the "Alcaldi" [burgomasters?] about what they could do; the result being that if the parties summoned will pay forthwith one third of what they owe, and give security

* Lord High Chamberlain to Ferdinand, King of the Romans.

† See entry No. 248, dated 16th October.

‡ In M. Mignet's "Charles Quint, son abdication, son séjour, et sa mort au monastère de Yuste," p. 92 (ed. Paris, 1857), it is stated that at the ceremony of the cession of the Netherlands to King Philip, the Emperor was "accompagné de ses sœurs les Reines de Hongrie et de France, de ses neveux l'Archiduc Ferdinand d'Autriche et le Duc de Savoie," &c. &c. We now learn from Badoer, not only that the Archduke was not present, but that his absence was probably caused by circumstances to which the narrators of the last three years of the Emperor's life have made no allusion.

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through merchants of Antwerp for acquittance of the residue within two years, the burgomasters hope to quiet the creditors, whose consent the King desired them to test.*

Brussels, 26th October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1555. 26.
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255. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF CONZA [Girolamo Muzzarelli], Nuncio at Brussels.

Thanks him for the news from Rome; although he has always asserted it positively in London, yet as he had not received letters thence since a long while, many persons did not give it such credit as he could have desired. Conza can have no idea how many false rumours were circulated there by the malignants to alienate men's minds from their devotion to the Pope, availing themselves of the letters of certain Englishmen abroad in Italy on account of their bad religion (*loro mala religione*), and who, moreover, for the sake of creating tumult, sent hither lately the bull against the alienation of the church property. When Pole speaks to the Queen about this matter, she sighs and laments, saying she has not the heart to tell him all that is reported to her, but cannot conceal from him her apprehension that, should any discord arise between these great chiefs,† the disturbance in England would be so great as to render a remedy difficult. Pole has done, and does, all he can to dispel suspicion from everybody, but having no letters, his words have not such weight with the opponents (*gli altri*) as would be necessary, though the Queen seems to trust his affirmation that he knows the Pope's mind and nature better than other men; but what Conza now writes about the words of the Count of Montorio‡ was of great avail to confirm what Pole has always said, and the Queen remained much comforted.

Concerning Pole's writing, addressed to that wretched man (*a quel misero*),§ he should be glad to hear Conza's opinion of it more in detail, in order to determine whether he should allow it to circulate; although he does not know, Conza being such a friend to him as he is, whether we ought-not to be more suspicious of his opinion than of that of an enemy. The Chancellor [Gardiner], whose life is now despaired of|| (to the great sorrow of all good men), had given orders for it to be translated into English and published. Pole did not send it to the person to whom it is addressed until three days ago,¶ and perhaps had he known previously what Father Sotto wrote to Monsignor Priuli, despairing

* Onde di sua Maestà Regia li fu imposto a far prova della volontà loro.

† "Questi gran Capi,"—the Pope and the Emperor.

‡ Giovanni Caraffa, nephew of Paul IV., and brother of Cardinal Carlo Caraffa.

§ Pole's letter to Cranmer, written I suppose originally in Latin, and printed in French in the "*Collectio Epistolarum*," &c. (Vol. 5, pp. 238-274.)

|| Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, died on the 13th November 1555.

¶ It has been supposed (see Froude, vol. 6, p. 413, ed. 1860), that "when this letter reached the Archbishop, it was *very near* the period of his sentence," which was not published (at Rome) until the 14th December 1555. The trial of Cranmer commenced at Oxford on the 7th September 1555. (See Froude, as above, p. 372.)

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of the salvation of that unfortunate man (*di quel misero*), he would not have sent it, following the rule of Hippocrates, *qui desperatis morbis retat adhiberi medicinam*, although this rule is not applicable to diseases of the soul, of whose health one can never utterly despair whilst life remains, as sometimes the grace of God comes with the departing spirit; and thus, if not before, does Pole pray that of His infinite mercy it may come to pass with regard to that individual (*che intervenga a costui*).

London, 26th October 1555.

Postscript.—By letters from Rome dated the 12th ulto. has received news in conformity with what Conza wrote. Praises the goodness of God for removing suspicion from all quarters, and suppressing the causes of many and great disturbances.

[*Italian.*]

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256. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.

Col. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date.

Printed in Vol. 5,
pp. 45-48.

"Epistolarum
Reginaldi Poli,"

&c. without any
date.

In his last letter abstained from writing what would have been communicated to him by the Lords of the Council, but by his Majesty's letter of the 15th October Pole perceives that from him likewise the King wishes to receive news of the most Serene Queen, and of current events in England. He read to her the paragraph in the King's letter to the effect that although he was glad to hear that she attended to the public business recommended to her by him on his departure, yet would this pain him were it in any way to injure her health, desiring Pole so to act in this matter that she may use moderation, lest too much labour affect that which is of greater consequence to him than anything else. When the passage about this care and anxiety for her health was read it touched her greatly, as did the thought of absence from that consort of whose great love she received this assurance; but she resigned herself to the will of God, whose providence directs everything. Her Majesty again attended Parliament,* when the King's letter was read and listened to universally with due reverence, the Queen by no means dissembling either her affection for her beloved consort or her respect for his royal person. The proceedings of those two days, and the Chancellor's statement, will be known to the King both by the Latin translation of his speech and by the acts sent to his Majesty; but Pole will not omit to say that in these two days, when speaking in Parliament, the Chancellor seemed to him not only to surpass himself in ability, eloquence, discretion, and piety, in which he is wont to excel all men, but to surpass his own physical strength, for whilst serving his sovereigns and his country by word of mouth, he so subdued his malady as to show no sign of corporal infirmity. Should the Lower House, when it comes to vote, show the same mind in matters relating to religion, and the honour and advantage of the Crown, as evinced by their Speaker, there is no doubt that

* The session of Parliament here alluded to was opened on the 21st October by the Queen in person, who made her second appearance there two days later to confirm the appointment of the Speaker. (See Michiel, despatches dated 21st and 27th October.) It is therefore probable that Cardinal Pole wrote this letter to King Philip from London.

everything will be settled satisfactorily. Nothing could be more holy than what he said about religion, nothing more honourable than his mention of their Majesties; alluring everybody to further their interests, as common to those of the republic, and of this fair hope is given by what has been done during the last few days. Concerning the church property placed by their Majesties at the disposal (*arbitrio permissis*) of the Pope and his Legate, which has been adjudged by them to the clergy, experienced English jurists are of opinion that the renunciation must be confirmed by Act of Parliament, but who will follow the prudent course recommended by the King; nor does Pole doubt of the general assent, as those who were at first of a contrary opinion do not now consider the difficulty of the case to be so great, as it seems to consist in distributing the property in such a way as not to impose on those who are bound to exonerate their Majesties any heavier burden than the church property can bear, and that the persons in receipt of pensions may not be defrauded when they become due (*tota vero difficultas versari videtur in partiendis ac distribuendis bonis illis, ut qui exonerare majestates vestras debent, eis non plus oneris imponatur, quam facultates ecclesiarum sustinere possint, nec quibus pensiones debentur, ii, cum tempus solvendi aderit, fraudentur*). Will act diligently in this matter with the clergy and all the bishops, including those of the diocese of York actually in London, he and they being agreed, not only to act about the distribution of the church property, but to regulate all matters relating to the reform of the Anglican Church, and to convoke a synod for that purpose.

Has received letters dated Oxford from the Reverend Father Soto, giving him account of what he did with those two heretics* after their condemnation, one of whom would not even speak with him; to the other he spoke, but it profited nothing, it being easily intelligible that no one can save those whom God has rejected; and thus, according to report, the sentence was executed, the people looking on not unwillingly, as it was known that nothing had been neglected with regard to their salvation (*itaque de illis supplicium est sumtum, non illibenter spectante populo, cum cognitum fuisset, nihil esse prætermisum, quod ad eorum salutem pertineret*). The late Archbishop of Canterbury, whose sentence of condemnation is now expected from Rome, does not show himself so obstinate, and desires a conference with Pole (*atque se cupere mecum loqui*). If he can be brought to repent, the Church will derive no little profit from the salvation of a single soul; but they are awaiting what may be expected from the next letters of Father Soto, and will certify it to his Majesty. Soto also writes that theology (*doctrinam scholasticam*) is greatly neglected at Oxford, no works of that sort being expounded publicly, so he thinks it would be useful to appoint an interpreter of the doctrines of Pietro Lombardo† (*magistri senten-*

* For the burning of Ridley and Latimer at Oxford on the 16th October 1555, see Froide, vol. 6, p. 385, ed. London, 1860.

† Pietro Lombardo, born near Novara in the 12th century, was so able a theologian that his work entitled "*Sententie*" obtained for him the title of "*Magister Sententiarum*."

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tiarum explicationem), an office which, if approved of, he would undertake. Having communicated this to the Chancellor, Pole, according to his opinion, treated with the Queen (*cum Serenissimâ Regina regi*) for the Hebrew lectureship, which has few or no pupils, to be exchanged for this one, in such wise as to cause no detriment to the former professor.

Complaints of difficulties about safe-conducts demanded by him from the French government.

Is expecting the return from Rome of his envoy with the declaratory brief concerning the bull about the alienation of the church property.

London, 26th October 1555?

[*Latin, 84 lines.*]

Oct. 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

257. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England has had letters from the Queen his consort informing him that many violent opposition members having been returned to Parliament, she had sought his Majesty's coming (*procurato che venisse*), and hesitated to propose his coronation, adding that if unable to carry this act, so beneficial for the common weal, she thought of effecting it on the dissolution of Parliament with a number of peers (*signori*) and other personages of the kingdom. To this the King replied that as she necessarily desires this result (*questo effetto*) more than he does, he therefore requests her not to propose anything in this matter unless she is sure of its success, adding that being now absolute sovereign of the Netherlands, which are thus joined with England, he will attend to their defence against the common enemy the King of France, earnestly praying her to make every demonstration to convince King Henry that unless he come to fair terms of peace, now that on no plausible pretence can they be refused by him, as the Emperor is departing for Spain, she will make the kingdom take up arms for the protection of the two countries.

The wife of that Sir Peter Carew, who heretofore, on the eve of his Majesty's departure from Spain for England, was accused of inciting the English to cut the Spaniards to pieces, has come hither from England to the King. She requests his Majesty to grant her husband permission to return home, after having suffered so much and for so long a while, and has presented a letter from her husband, who is at Antwerp, setting forth his desire to obtain his Majesty's favour and that of the Queen, which favour he had not lost from any fault of his own, saying that should he know his case to be hopeless, he will be compelled to enter the service of the King of France, which he has never chosen to do hitherto. The King, taking into consideration the quality of the individual, who is the chief gentleman of Cornwall, and a person of very great ability and authority, and the services which might be expected from him in England, has requested the Queen as a favour to forgive him his transgression.

After the ceremony of the cession, the Prince of Orange departed

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postwise on his return to the army, with the intention of preventing the French from victualling Marienburg. The Spaniards in Holland, in reply to a letter written by King Philip to their commander, exhorting him to persuade them to bear patiently a few days delay in the payment of their arrears, as he promised them that the Emperor or himself would soon make provision, have answered his Majesty, contrary to the will of their commander, in the following precise words:—*That necessity induces them no longer to place trust either in him or in his father, and that unless duly and speedily satisfied they shall be compelled to do a strange deed, to the detriment of their Majesties, their language being that of men no less desperate than haughty. This event has caused much comment.*

Brussels, 27th October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 27.
Original
The Hague,
Venetian
Archives.

258. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Two days after her first appearance there the Queen attended Parliament a second time, as usual, to confirm the procurator or Speaker, Cardinal Pole being present on this occasion likewise. After this ceremony, which, according to custom, consisted solely in a panegyric on the King and Queen, and apologies for his own insufficiency on the part of the Speaker, together with a reply in the Queen's name from the Chancellor, Secretary Sir William Petre read first an original Latin letter written by the King, and then its English translation, addressed to all the estates and orders of Parliament, thereby excusing himself and lamenting his absence, which did not proceed from election or will, but from force and necessity, owing to the great need which affairs in Flanders had of his presence, nor could he at present abandon them without seriously injuring himself; saying that although the Queen, who represented their joint authority, would act in his stead, yet he would have greatly wished to be himself likewise on the spot, but if personally at a distance, he was more than present with them mentally, retaining the same thought, wheresoever he might be, for the interests of England, for their protection and maintenance, as for his own, being equally attached to both, and holding them in the like account; and exhorting Parliament, with regard to such proposals as might be made them by her Majesty for the service and advantage of the realm, to evince such goodwill and disposition towards her as they always had done, as he on his part likewise would be grateful to them; expressing himself very graciously in these and other similar terms, which were listened to very attentively, as if the King himself had been present, and hailed with applause and the usual acclamations. After the reading of the letter the Queen also said a few words, and caused many more to be uttered by the Lord Chancellor, about the King's wish, assuring them it was much stronger than had been expressed, either by word or letter, or in any other way. After this acknowledgment his lordship spoke at great length to remove any doubt or suspicion of its being intended

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to make any motion about church revenues or property, certain persons having disseminated a malicious report to the effect that her Majesty insisted on everybody surrendering them, as she herself had done, saying that this had never been thought of, and assuring the House that no one would ever receive injury or molestation on this account; and he ordered the reading of the bull made by the most illustrious Legate about the cession of the said revenues, and the confirmation of the bull lately received from Rome, so that everybody may know the fact, and become aware of the amount whereby the Crown revenues are diminished.

On the morrow both Houses determined to appoint a committee of 20 members to devise the present supply, and state their opinion in Parliament for its approval or rejection, on which they are now intent; nor as yet does it appear that they will discuss any other matter, it having been told me that on the first day he spoke the Lord Chancellor gave it publicly to be understood that they must not be disturbed by false reports, as nothing would be said about the King's authority, or of his Majesty personally, thus alluding to the coronation without specifying it distinctly. In the meanwhile the English of inferior grade, even the members of the Lower House, do not fail giving it freely to be understood with regard to this pecuniary supply, that there will be much to do before obtaining it, alleging that there is no lack of means for relieving the Queen without burdening the people, who, by reason of their poverty, and owing to the present year's grievous scarcity, can bear no farther taxation; the measure of wheat which usually costs little more than two "grossi," being now worth ten; nor is there any to be had in consequence of the very heavy rains this summer, which have not only hindered the harvest, but rotted and putrified in the ground the grain, barley, and other sorts of corn sown for the composition of liquors (per far bevanda); this same moisture having caused great part of the sheep to sicken and die; the hay destined for the nourishment of the other animals being swamped on the field, and on these things the livelihood of the people and their resources entirely depend.* The means of which the Queen (as alleged by them) might avail herself would be that without any scruple her Majesty, as she ought to do, should compel all the debtors of the Crown to pay up their arrears, there not being one, or but few, of the great personages here who do not owe, some five, some six, and some eight thousand pounds sterling and upwards, as under favour of her Majesty, and through their influence with the ministers, they are not only conceded time, but may be said to have full dispensation from payment. In addition to this, the opponents say that so long as her Majesty is in debt she should retain, and not despoil herself as she has done of the sort of ecclesiastical revenue lately alienated by her from the Crown, this cession causing infinite loss to her Majesty, and but little profit to others, as these revenues are derived from potent communities (luochi) and personages who are scarcely, or not at all, incon-

* "The XXIX day of September [1555] was the grettest rayn and fludes that ever was sene in England," &c. &c. (See Machyn's Diary, pp. 94, 95.)

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venienced by the payment, which consists in great part of tenths and first fruits of vacant benefices (chiese), which are here called "premites." So, for the sake of the poor, they seem bent on violent opposition, which, according to their custom, will end in words rather than in deeds, as neither in this nor any other government measure do they dare contradict the Queen (non havendo ardire di partirsi da quello, che così in questa, come nelle altre proposte, vogli la Serenissima Regina).

I was told lately on good authority that Cardinal Pole, having thought fit to speak to the Queen about the peace with regard to the performance of a certain office, her Majesty answered him very sharply (molto bruscamente), that it was no longer to be spoken of nor thought about, evincing great resentment and ill-will towards the French, so much so that the general opinion of the Court was, and still is, that ere long she will declare herself against them; but I have since heard, from the same informant, that her Majesty is now much soothed, her first violent ebullition being perhaps allayed. The Lieutenant d'Amont, late ambassador here, has written from Brussels that he had already spoken to the Emperor and the King about the information received here by the Abbot of San Saluto, and shewn to their Majesties, moreover, the Cardinal of Lorraine's letters to the Abbot. The latter was much commended for the manner in which he had transferred the negotiation to the Bishop of Arras, taking it out of the hands of the English mediators (era il ditto abate molto laudato del modo con il qual si era mosso in voltar la pratica con il vescovo di Arras levandola dalli mediatori Inglesi). As both the letters and the information (le informationi) pleased the Emperor and the King, he [the Lieutenant d'Amont], should both sides persevere in the negotiation, did not despair of its being brought to a good end. When Cardinal Pole, therefore, returned to the Queen to give account of this, as also of some other detail of greater importance (with which my friend was unable to acquaint me), her Majesty answered him that he was not to fail pursuing the negotiation; but to let it appear that he did everything of his own accord, without using her authority or mentioning her. It is also told me that the Abbot will probably go very soon to France, seeing that the hope of the negotiation increases rather than diminishes. Thus the business is not only not abandoned as desperate, but is more brisk than ever, and continues advancing.

The departure hence of Don Diego de Azavedo with the rest of the household and the King's guards is delayed until pecuniary supply be provided for payment of the debts of the household here, and to give them the means for commencing their journey, although the Queen has done her utmost to prevent the move. Her Majesty, who at present avails herself in all matters of the counsel and assistance of Cardinal Pole, causes him to remonstrate both with the Emperor and the King, reminding them that it would be much better for the advantage of matters, both in England and Flanders, that the Emperor should postpone his voyage, at least until they were somewhat better established; laying before them not only the negotiation for peace still on foot, but proving

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by many arguments how important it is, both for his reputation and on other accounts, that at the present time the Emperor should be in person in these parts, although he be unable to occupy himself either with politics or anything else (*con tutto ch  non potesse adoperarsi ne travagliarsi, in negotio, n  in cosa alcuna*). This office Cardinal Pole performed willingly, he being exclusively intent on the common weal, in conformity with the wish of the most Serene Queen. Although, therefore, notwithstanding King Philip's having written by his last letters to the Cardinal that the Emperor's departure on the 20th of next month was irrevocable (*risolutissima*), it having been thus decided on account of his health, a motive, the King writes, to which he was compelled to yield, as being so just and necessary he dared not oppose it; yet nevertheless a courier was sent off to his Majesty yesterday, with a despatch as aforesaid, acquainting him likewise with all that had taken place hitherto in Parliament.

Don Diego de Azevedo, by order of the King, informed the Lord Chamberlain, and all the other gentlemen of his Majesty's household, that they were at liberty, if they wished it, to follow him to Flanders for the continuance of their functions; their stipend being paid them in like manner should they choose to remain [in England]; so, as they are to receive their salaries, it is supposed that few or none will stir, they being too comfortable here in their own homes.

Three Suffolk men have been sent prisoners to the Tower, one of them (as reported) being a gentleman, who, on the day the Queen opened Parliament in state, allowed it to escape him, when talking with the other two, his companions, that to free the kingdom from oppression it would be well to kill the Queen. It is said besides, that thus had he intended to do, having already prepared weapons for the purpose; and on unbosoming himself to the two, they prevented its execution, and then laid the accusation, the truth or falsity of which will be proved by his sentence.

London, 27th October 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Oct. 27.
Filza No. 134.
Miscellanea
di Atti diversi
Manoseritti,
Venetian
Archives.

259. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

My duty most humbly remembered to your good Lordship. I have received your letter of the 12th of this instant by Mr. Francis Brown, being greatly to my comfort to understand of your Lordship's so well doing there, and specially of that you are upon so good a waiters,* thereby so well used to your own great quietness and comfort there, and to the great rejoicing of your friends here, that understand the same; and I take it for an assured argument and good token of the continuance of your well doing, that even as your first good fortune, which, as it flashed out suddenly, so it

* Allusion to Courtenay's attendance on the Emperor.

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suddenly vanished,* even so, in this second fortune of yours, which hath proceeded sensibly by so many sundry several degrees, I do firmly believe it to be an assured true token of the perfect good continuance thereof; even according to the wise man's saying, which is, that the substance acquired, little and little, hath the better foundation, and is of longer continuance; and, therefore, I reckon your Lordship hath much cause to take great comfort in this your fortune, which hath gone forward from your second delivery by so many small degrees, and shall in the end grow to that perfection which your Lordship or your friends can reasonably desire, whereof I am in such good and perfect hope, that I put no doubt of your very well doing. I took occasion to declare to her Highness, upon the receipt of your letters, of your good waiting, and of your well using, whereof I perceived her Majesty was very glad to understand, inasmuch as when my Lady, your mother, took her leave of her Highness, which was the first parliament-day [21st October?], her Highness asked when she had any letters from you. She answered that not this five or six weeks; whereat the Queen marvelled, for there had come letters to others since, which I think she meant to me; and her Majesty declared how your Lordship used yourself there as serviceably and well as could be wished, and how gently and well the King's Majesty, and the rest of the noblemen, did use you there, and concluded that she doubted not but you should do the King and her good service, and that his Majesty would be as much your good and gracious lord as yourself or your friends could desire. Your mother rejoiced not a little to see her Majesty's good affection to you, and she, with the rest of your friends, were very glad to hear that your Lordship is so well satisfied with the using of you there. I conversed with my Lady your mother, in whom I found much motherly affection and great care . . . you in thinking your Lordship shall not find all things true which you fear and suspect in her towards you. I wish earnestly your Lordship should with your often letters entertain her as is convenient, she being your mother, whereby no occasion be ministered by you of loss or decay of goodwill between you.

My Lord Chancellor, your most assured friend, doth amend; nevertheless, being the dead time of the year, he cannot increase in his amendment as he should, if it were in the spring time; but all the physicians here be in a marvellous good hope of his recovery, and the Queen's Majesty used him as well in her coming through her house at Westminster where he lieth, whilst her Majesty lieth at St. James's, and also openly in the Parliament Chamber, in the face of the whole world there, and by her often sending unto him, with such exceeding great gentylness, as her Majesty hath made a very good demonstration thereby, what a special love and an exceeding great care she hath of him, for it is impossible to show more gentylness, kindness, care, and love than her Majesty hath showed divers ways unto him. My Lord Chancellor never did

* Query, his expected marriage to Queen Mary. See Cardinal Pole's letter to him, dated Trent, 2nd October 1553.

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better in his life than he did these two days at the Parliament, and Mr. Pollard, who is Speaker, and was presented on Wednesday, and was very well liked by the Queen and the rest there, made an excellent oration; Mr. D. Curlyng hath done the same in Latin very well, which is sent to the King's Majesty from her Highness; the same to Mr. Mason, where you can see it, nevertheless I am promised a copy thereof, which by the pt [post?] I will send your Lordship.

The Nether House of themselves devised that it should be committed to 20 of them to devise upon some subsidy for the Queen's relief, which they did, and agreed that the self-same subsidy should be granted unto her which she had when she came to her estate, and two fifteenths when that is done; which yesterday, being declared by the committees to the House, was of more, but appointed learned men of them to devise that for the giving of it to be made in all points in the self-same wise that the same was, she forgave.* This day it will be brought into the House, and I think we shall have a short Parliament. Heydon is not yet come, and until his coming we cannot do nothing (*sic*) in your matters. It was very happy that Hammerston hath made so good a survey, for we should else hardly have gotten any money in time to save your Lordship. Mr. Peter [Sir William Petre, Secretary of State] to move your Lordship again (*agoynge*) for exchange or buying of your manor of Whitefords, which lieth so entangled with the manor of Shute, which was the Duke of Suffolk's, as it was the occasion of continual dissension between the servants thereof. He saith that divers of your tenements of the manor of Whitford lieth on the further side of the manor of Shute, and divers of the manor of Shute lieth in the farther side of the manor of Whitford. The same is, as Mr. Peter doth esteem it, about a XL marks by the year. Thinks Courtenay had better sell this estate to Mr. Peter, considering who he is, and that he may do him some pleasure. Knows that Courtenay thinks Englefeld is of opinion it were preferable to sell in any other place than in Devonshire. Says Shute is a very stately thing, and Mr. Peter hath divers great and profitable things there. I think he can dispend in that shire about four or five hundred pounds a year, and saith that he beginneth to have a [mind?] to leave Essex and settle in that shire. If your Lordship mind to sell it, you may refer it to those you have put in commission. Gives advice about the measures to be adopted for the sale of some of Courtenay's lands.

I send for your Lordship herein enclosed a copy of a letter which the King sent to my Lord Chancellor by the last post, whereby your Lordship may perceive his Majesty's good affection towards him.

Westminster, 27th October.

[*Addressed:*] "To the Right Honorable my very good lord, Earl of Devonshire."

* I infer the writer's meaning to have been that the Queen forbade any mention of the fifteenth, as she remitted it entirely. (See despatch of Giovanni Michiel, date London, 4 November.)

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[*Endorsed :*] " Mr. Basset, 26th October 1555. England to Brussels."

[*Holograph original. N.B. The date in Basset's hand in the letter is 27th October, but so written that Courtenay's secretary read it xxvj., as he has endorsed it.*]

Oct. 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

260. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Was told by the King that the Constable had intercepted a number of letters of the Imperialists, including some from the King of England, one of which was written by him to his sister the Regent in Spain [Joanna of Austria], praying her earnestly to pay certain moneys taken by him on his word at interest, saying they were the first for which he had ever pledged his word; and there was also another letter which he had addressed to Don Juan Vasquez, president of the treasury board in Spain; also that the affairs of Spain were directed by three councillors, one for the government of the realm, one for military affairs, and the third for pecuniary supply. His Majesty then continued that this Don Juan Vasquez seemed to be the very intimate servant of King Philip, who wrote to him in cipher that he was about to cross from England to Brussels to kiss the Emperor's hand and speak to him about a secret which as yet he [King Philip] had communicated to no one in the world, and that if he could dispose his Imperial Majesty to give him absolutely the charge of all his states, he, the Emperor, would doubtless cross to Spain, which was also confirmed by letters from Don Ruy Gomez; so his most Christian Majesty, although as yet without news from Brussels of any farther decision on the subject, cannot but suppose that thus will it be, though not until March, the bad weather having already commenced (*cominciando già li tempi a pesare*); in addition to which, the King had been informed that at a monastery near Madrid (*presso a Madril* (sic)), called San Giusto,* much preparation (*molte provisioni*) had been made by order of his Imperial Majesty, he having announced his intention of going into retirement there. In conclusion, the King said that from all quarters he heard the Emperor was in great need of money, which additionally impeded all his affairs, and went on to say, "The Pope did manfully to imprison those noblemen" (*che Sua Santità si havea portato virilmente a reddur quelli signori in prigione*), and that the two galleys of Sta. Fiora had already been sent back to Civita Vecchia, contrary to the commands of the Duke of Alva, which arrived too late; and that the Pope knew that the Duke blamed the Imperial ambassador at Rome for not departing thence when he saw that the Pope delayed giving him audience, saying that such is the way to do with priests, which exasperated the Pope more than anything.

La Ferté Milon, 28th October 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* Yuste. See Stirling's Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V.

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Oct. 30.

Isolazioni
Senato (Secreta),
ed. III, p. 153.

261. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor.

Should the Emperor's will be to go without ambassadors to Spain, he is to remain with the King of England, the Signory wishing always to have an ambassador with his Royal Majesty. [*Should the King cross over to England, after accompanying him to Calais, or to the site of his embarkation, he, in the act of taking leave, is to say that as his Majesty is going where he will find the Signory's ambassador Michiel, that personage will supply his place until the arrival of a fresh ambassador, who will be appointed to reside with his Majesty.] After performance of this office he is to return home. Should he be unable to obtain audience of the Emperor, is to perform the office aforesaid with the King and the Bishop of Arras, so that his Imperial Majesty may have knowledge of it.

Ayes, 176. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

262. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Since the arrival of the Archduke Ferdinand, King Philip and the Queens have shown him many marks of love and honour, they going together to several banquets and hunting parties, and remaining in each other's company; on which occasions his Majesty, making signs to the Duke of Savoy to go to the left, took the Archduke between them, and this he did moreover on meeting him outside the town, when the Archduke having alighted from his horse, the King did the like. The Spaniards say he came for the purpose of paying his respects to the Emperor, the Archduke's attendants declaring that his Imperial Majesty sent for him with the hope of making him marry either the sister of the Queen of England or the daughter of Queen Eleanor, who is in Portugal, and has a dower of 50,000 crowns revenue; and some say that the wife destined for him is the Emperor's daughter, widow of the Infant of Portugal, with the county of Burgundy for her dowry. Has heard that, besides the reasons aforesaid, he came for the purpose of confuting the current belief in there being a misunderstanding between the Emperor and the King of the Romans, as also between the sons of their Majesties, owing to several causes, and especially on account of certain letters full of angry expressions which passed between them a year ago.† According to report, the Archduke also confirmed to the Emperor what Don Martin de Guzman came to notify to him with regard to the will and opinion of the King of the Romans about renouncing the administration of the Empire on the Emperor's departure for Spain, *concerning which matter it is said that the Electors, and especially the Palatine, have let his Majesty know that should he make a written act of renunciation of the Empire in any form whatever, it would not be approved by them, as according to*

* In cipher between the brackets.

† Et specialmente per alcune lettere che già fu un anno passarono tra loro piene di alteratione.

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the laws it is not feasible; and the Elector of Cologne, who is now expected here, is supposed to be coming chiefly on this account, although his professed object is to pay his respects to the Emperor before he embarks. So the chief ministers both of the Emperor and of King Philip declare that his Imperial Majesty will not make any renunciation of the Empire, but that in a few days he will cede the kingdoms of Spain and Sicily to his son, to which effect Don Juan Manrique and Don Diego de Azevedo will be sent to Spain in the name of both their Majesties, and that he will remain with the sole dignity of Emperor.

The lords and delegates of these provinces departed after taking the oaths of allegiance to the King, having previously apologized for their inability at present to give him any sum of money, both because the people are exhausted by reason of the long and uninterrupted war, as also because, according to report, he having perhaps ere long to make a progress through the provinces, they will then, as customary, be compelled to make him a present; and according to general report, before departing they gave him to understand that whilst he is present here they do not intend to be ruled by any one else, *alluding thus to the Duke of Savoy, some of whose attendants attribute this to the King's disinclination* (non ardente volontà) *to give him the absolute command, which greatly dispirits his Excellency, although his Majesty has given him the grade of his lieutenant and captain general, and entrusts much of the business of the provinces to him, but he has not the supreme authority exercised by Queen Maria.*

Brussels, 31st October 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Oct. 31.
Lettere del
Collegio
(Secreta),
File No. 20.

263. The DOGE and COLLEGE to GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Are writing to our ambassador with the Emperor that should his Majesty go to Spain, and not choose the ambassadors to follow him, he (the ambassador) is to remain with the King of England, the Signory wishing always to have an ambassador with the King's Majesty, with whom he is also to perform a similar office on the Emperor's departure (*et che 'l faccia ancora questo officio con Lei partito che sarà l'Imperator*); [and that when the King goes over to England, after accompanying him to Calais, or wherever he may embark, in the act of taking leave of him, is to say that as his Majesty is going to England, where you are, your presence will supply his place, until the arrival of a new ambassador, who will reside with his Royal Majesty],* and that after the performance of this office he do return home; and in case the ambassador accompany the Emperor to Spain, on taking leave of the King of England he is to tell him that the Signory, wishing always to have an ambassador with his Majesty, will elect one.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[Italian.]

* In cipher between the brackets.

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Oct. 31.

Lettere del
Collegio
(Secreta),
File No. 20.**264. DOGE LORENZO PRIULI to the KING of ENGLAND.**

Have commissioned our beloved noble Federigo Badoer, ambassador with the Emperor, to remain with your Majesty, by reason of our desire and will always to have an ambassador of ours with your Royal Highness.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 0. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 1.

Original
Letter Book,
penc me, p. 43.**265. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

Yesterday there arrived in this city Don Garcilasso de la Vega, who is accredited to his Holiness by the Emperor and the King of England. He was met by the Emperor's ambassador [Marquis Sarria] and the Count of Montorio, and is lodged in the ambassador's house. The time being so short I have merely ascertained that after the usual assurances of goodwill on the part of the Emperor and the King of England towards his Holiness, he will demand the reinstatement of Marc' Antonio Colonna, and the release from their securities (*liberatione delle piezarie*)* of the Cardinal "Camerlengo" [Guido Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal Sta. Fiora], Camillo Colonna, and other Imperialists, and that he, Garcilasso, has no commission from his princes about universal peace.

Rome, 1st November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2.

Original
Letter Book,
penc me, p. 45.**266. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

To-day, at audience, the Pope said to me, "Don Garcilasso de la Vega, who was expected, arrived here two days ago, he has not yet been to us, on account of these holydays, and of the ceremonies performed, but from what we have been able to elicit, we understand that his commissions are very bland (*molto dolci*); when he shall have spoken with us I will communicate to whole to you, as also other important matters."

Rome, 2nd November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**267. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

The Queens will depart in two days for a place two leagues hence, for the purpose, it is said, of completing the arrangements for the voyage.

The Queen of England has sent a courier to her consort to let him know, in addition to the proceedings of Parliament, her wish for positive information about the time of the Emperor's departure, so that she may regulate herself about the armed ships and merchantmen, reminding him that the cost required for keeping them ready is great.

* The security given by the Cardinal Camerlengo amounted to 300,000 crowns. (See Cardella, vol. iv. p. 142.)

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Her Majesty's ambassador has had orders to take leave of the Emperor and return to her, but the King does not choose him to be the first of the ambassadors to quit his Imperial Majesty, telling him that in a few days there will be more certainty about the time of the Emperor's departure.

Brussels, 3rd November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

268. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

An Imperial trumpet presented himself lately on the French frontiers with letters from the Bishop of Arras to the Constable, informing his Excellency in very bland language, on behalf of the most Serene King of England, that he wished an exchange of prisoners on one side and the other, and that whilst it was being treated (*et che fra questo mezzo*) they should receive better treatment than they have received hitherto, as would be commenced forthwith by his Majesty with regard to those in his custody. This letter is written in such amicable terms as would not have been so easily used had the business been treated in the Emperor's name, and King Philip has been answered that it was always the wish of his most Christian Majesty to do the like with regard both to good treatment and release of the said prisoners, so that if the King of England wished to come to any decision, he might give orders to Mons. De Lambert, who has the superintendence of his affairs on the frontiers, as his most Christian Majesty would also give like orders on his part to the Admiral, the governor of Picardy.

Has been told that lest this treaty for release of prisoners be interpreted by the Pope as the commencement of some agreement between their Majesties, the King of France sent his Holiness the Secretary Bouchiet (*sic*) to assure the Pope that even in the event of an adjustment, the King will persevere in his wish to ally himself with his Holiness.

La Ferté Milon, 3rd November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 4.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

269. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The 20 members forming the committee of Parliament determined that to relieve the Queen in her present need a subsidy should be imposed on the whole kingdom, thereby taxing everybody indifferently, as usual, without excepting or having regard either for the poor or for the needy (*impotente*), nor for any person whatever. The motion having been made in the Commons, where subsidies and taxes are first treated before passing to the Lords, there was a sharp debate between the members of the House and the committee (*li deputati*) about the tax on the poor, called in English "the fifteenth," which the committee supported in order to augment the Queen's supply, although this item does not amount to more than six or eight thousand pounds sterling; the other members opposing the grant for the sake of those who are poor and needy. This

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having been represented to her Majesty, she, with her usual compassion and love for her subjects, sent a message to the House by Secretary Peire forbidding any mention of "the fifteenth," as she remitted it entirely, thus putting an end to the debate, to the satisfaction of everybody, so that the motion passed without the slightest opposition (*senza alcuna pur minima contraddittione*); but as some other unimportant difficulties (although they were subsequently adjusted) remained for settlement, they prevented it from being yet made in the Lords, where it will nevertheless doubtless be confirmed forthwith by a yet greater majority (*con maggior larghezza*). Does not write particulars about the quantity and quality of this subsidy, as report varies about it, but awaits the passing of the bill in both Houses. As yet, with regard to time, all persons are agreed that it will be levied in two years, one moiety annually, the first to commence on the 1st March 1556; and as to the amount, the highest valuation is one million of gold, to which 400,000 ducats are added by those who exaggerate most. After the despatch of this matter and of some other private bills (*cose particolari*), the Parliament will, it is thought, be dissolved in 10 days or a fortnight, the Queen, owing to the absence of her consort, being most impatient to return and enjoy her monastery at Greenwich, in which she delights marvellously (*nel qual mirabilmente si compiace*), and has great and especial care of it, having already added to the 25 Franciscan Observantine Friars, amongst whom is Friar Francis Petro, an aged man of most holy life, heretofore Bishop elect of Salisbury, and her Majesty's confessor before his exile, and one of the six individuals lately nominated by the Pope for the cardinalate:

To-day all the bishops of the kingdom assembled together, with the Legate, to hold a synod about the affairs of the religion, and of the clergy, relating to their office and ministry; the bishops in these matters proceeding much to Cardinal Pole's satisfaction, they being all persons who by him and everybody are considered very exemplary with regard to doctrine; and by residing ordinarily in their dioceses, and by preaching, lecturing, and teaching, they do not fail in any way using all due diligence.

They likewise, apart from the laity, will, as is their custom, offer the Queen a portion of their revenues, which will be so much the greater as great is the advantage now derived by them from the cession in their favour of the church property hitherto held by her Majesty.

Cardinal Pole was to have sent lately for the French ambassador to perform a certain office with him in continuation of the negotiations for the peace, but subsequently, from what I hear, he determined to write himself to the King and the Constable. His lordship is much distressed by the movements in Italy, being apprehensive, as he told me lately, lest the Pope form some resolve which may impede and utterly destroy the negotiation. Here, in the meanwhile, amongst both lords and commons, the belief and suspicion that at any rate next spring, that is to say, after having levied the subsidy, England will come to a rupture with France, gain ground daily, and I hear that some of these chief noblemen are

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already beginning warily (destramente) to provide themselves with tents, pavilions, and similar military requisites.

The remonstrance of the Portuguese ambassador about the Guinea voyages (*la navigation di Ghinea*) was referred by the Queen and her Council to King Philip, from whom the ambassador hopes to obtain a speedy and satisfactory reply.

The vessels which departed hence some months ago,* bound for Cathayo, either from inability or lack of daring, not having got beyond Muscovy and Russia, whither the others went in like manner last year, have returned safe, bringing with them the two vessels of the first voyage, having found them on the Muscovite coast, with the men on board all frozen; and the mariners now returned from the second voyage narrate strange things about the mode in which they were frozen, having found some of them seated in the act of writing, pen still in hand, and the paper before them; others at table, platter in hand and spoon in mouth; others opening a locker, and others in various postures, like statues, as if they had been adjusted and placed in those attitudes. They say that some dogs on board the ships displayed the same phenomena. They found the effects and merchandise all intact in the hands of the natives, and brought them back hither with the vessels.

London, 4th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 7.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

270. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARAFFA.

The Pope will have already heard about the convocation of the prelates of England, both to arrange the realization (*effettuazione*) of the church property renounced (*lasciati*) by the Crown, and also to make provision for the other necessities and abuses which have arisen amongst the clergy, owing to the corruption and misgovernment of the past times; and now with the opportunity afforded by the present Parliament, without putting the prelates to inconvenience or expense, by God's grace, Pole has commenced this convocation. On Monday the 4th a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was sung in the chapel of the royal palace, after which the ceremonies usual at the commencement of synods were performed, and they then assembled in a hall of the said palace [of Whitehall]; it being thus ordered both because Pole is lodged there near the Queen, and that the Bishop of Winchester, who is very grievously indisposed and lodges in it, may attend the meeting. On that day they merely stated, first to the bishops, and then to other members of the clergy, who had also been admitted, the causes of this convocation, which Pole did himself, and found them all quite ready to do whatever was for the service of God and spiritual benefit of England. All the bishops will have to give particular account of the necessities of their dioceses, and how they are to be provided for. The first thing to be done will be the assignment (*la assignatione*) to each of the churches of the aforesaid property, of which they were

* See before, entry No. 89, date May 21, 1555.

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deprived, with orders to provide for the service of the people, and that they may be benefited thereby (*con ordine di proveder che il popolo sia servito et ne senti frutto*). An order will also be given to make a fresh taxation of the churches (*di tassar di novo le chiese*) according to the commission received by Pole in a brief from his Holiness, to whom from time to time account will be given of everything treated and established.

On the 26th ulto. Pole wrote to Caraffa about the opening of Parliament,* in which the Chancellor proposed a subsidy for the need of their Majesties; and very readily, and without opposition from any one (*et senza contraditione di alcuno*),† it was agreed to give a million of gold, to be levied in two years from the laity, and in four from the clergy, who contribute willingly to this subsidy, which free contribution is a very ancient custom in England. Believes that Parliament will close before Christmas, and should anything worthy of the Pope's notice be transacted in it, Pole will give his Holiness notice accordingly.

London, 7th November 1555.

Autograph postscript:—By the last letters from Rome the Queen and all persons of worth (*tutti i buoni*) in England have been very much comforted to hear of the good course taken by affairs at Rome, the Pope having rendered his excellent and pacific disposition manifest to everybody, of which Pole has always given ample testimony in all quarters. Prays God to grant his Holiness all quiet, so that by means of his supreme authority he may commodiously attend with paternal care and love to the pacification of these sovereigns, and accomplish all his other holy projects to the honour and service of his Divine Majesty and of his Church.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8.
Original
Letter Book,
pencs me.

271. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Late in the day of the 3rd Don Garcilasso had audience of the Pope. At this first interview he represented the goodwill of the Emperor and the King of England towards the See Apostolic, owing to which his Holiness ought not to have any doubt of their disposition and piety, and took time to return to the Pope and state the rest of his commission; whereupon, suspecting he might have something disagreeable to say, after dismissing him with many assurances of regard for the Emperor and his son, his Holiness sent for the Count of Montorio and told him that from the words of Don Garcilasso he inferred that he was commissioned to treat some other matter which might be troublesome, as he chose to defer its negotiation. To this the Count replied that his Holiness might listen tranquilly to anything Garcilasso said, as he could answer him in any form he pleased.

Rome, 8th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* No letter of this date exists in the Marcian MS., but on the 26th September Pole wrote to Caraffa and alluded to the proposed meeting of Parliament at the end of October.

† This is at variance with the Commons Journals quoted by Froude, vol. 6, pp. 336-7.

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Nov. 10.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**272. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

The King answered the English Ambassador that the Queen might dispense with the cost of the ships destined for the Emperor's convoy to Spain until the 10th of December, but so that on receiving a fortnight's notice they might be ready; and although the Emperor has never chosen to tell the precise period of his departure, yet both the Emperor and the King, and many of their attendants, declare not only that it will take place, but even sooner than believed; and the Queens have already arranged the greater part of their affairs, in order to go and reside two miles hence for their better adjustment; the Flemish and German ladies of both their Majesties being expected to take leave to-morrow to go to their homes. When the King goes to Antwerp on the 15th of next month to hold a chapter of the "Fleece," and make new knights, as written by me to your Serenity, the Emperor will depart for Ghent, there to remain until the fleet be ready and the wind fair, as it usually is towards Christmas. The persons who assert that the Emperor will carry his resolve into effect, say he will do so, both for the reasons assigned by him when he made the renunciation of these provinces, and also to facilitate the peace between the Kings of England and France, which is now supposed to be negotiated more earnestly than ever through the medium of the Queen of England.

Brussels, 10th November 1555.

[Italian.]

Nov. 11.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.**273. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.**

Last night the Emperor had such an increase of gout (*è si moltiplicata all' Imperatore la gotta*) that to-day he was unable to feed himself with his own hands, and to-day keeps his bed from fever. Monsr. de Ri (*sic*), late chief butler (*somiglier del corpo*), who, owing to offence given him, took leave to go and reside at his home in Burgundy, came hither to kiss the Emperor's hand before his departure for Spain. After performance of this office he went away in a flood of tears, which, *he told certain gentlemen then present, were caused by his seeing the affairs of the Emperor and the King in such a state, owing to bad ministers; foretelling that unless their Majesties changed the administration, both public business and the war would proceed yet worse than they have done for the last four years; saying that heretofore everything was admirably regulated at the Imperial Court, whilst in France the government acted imprudently, so that on this account fortune had deserted the Emperor.*

The Elector of Cologne, who had announced his intention of remaining here for some days, departed this morning on hearing that by reason of the Emperor's paroxysm of gout he could not negotiate with his Majesty. During his short stay here he dined constantly first with the King, then with the Queen [Maria], and at other times with the Bishop of Arras; leaving a belief that by means of the Emperor and King Philip he wishes to be promoted to the Cardinalate.

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Lord Courtenay requested (*pregò*) Don Ruy Gomez to do him the favour to intercede for him with the King for permission to go to England for four days to mortgage and sell some of his estates, by reason of the necessary expenses which it behoved him incur on this his journey into Italy. He was unable to obtain the permission, but letters of recommendation were given him to several potentates (*principi*), and to his Majesty's ministers in that province; so he departed with only four horses, saying that from Louvain he should accompany the Elector as far as Cologne, and then continue his journey with speed, intending to go first to Mantua, then to Ferrara, and perhaps to Milan, before going to Venice.

Brussels, 11th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

274. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The bill for the subsidy was passed in the Upper House likewise without any opposition. As written by me it will be paid in two years, one moiety annually, everybody being bound to disburse eight English pence per pound sterling annually, according to the estimate of their [real] property or fixed income; or fourpence [per pound on incomes derived] from industry; the former paying more than the latter, save in the case of aliens, who are taxed tenpence per pound sterling, they being treated much more favourably than of yore, as they used to pay twice as much as the English; an exception being made moreover in favour of the bishops and prelates, who have spontaneously offered twelpence in the pound, continuing to pay the same for four years, to complete the amount of four entire tenths, one per annum. By this tax the Queen in two years is expected to get no less than 250,000*l.*, though others rate it at 300,000*l.*

Subsequently Parliament occupied itself with certain private matters (*cose particolari*) relating to [internal ?] peace and morality (*buon vivere*), a bill having been passed for the removal from London of the public "*ridotti*" for card-playing and dicing, and for dancing likewise, to prevent all opportunity for holding assemblies and meetings of persons for similar practices (*simili essercitii*), which are considered the most vicious and seditious of any; a remedy which, although decreed by Parliament heretofore, was nevertheless very speedily modified and discontinued (*et messo in abuso*). It is now proposed to bring in a bill prohibiting the exportation of beer or grain, or of anything connected with victuals, annulling all the licenses conceded hitherto, these exportations causing a greater scarcity of everything than that which is felt generally, owing to the failure of this year's crops. They are also now meditating the recall of all absentees, both those who have had leave to remain abroad, and those who have not, it being proposed to reinstate those whose property has been confiscated if they return within a given time, and to threaten the others with confiscation. It is understood that wherever they go, whether to Italy, Germany, or France, they licentiously disseminate many

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things against the English government and the present religion, causing many persons who are at once induced to follow them (*che senza altro si inducono a seguirarli*) to emigrate hence, the scandal thus gaining ground with the others. By making them come home and reside here, the government expects thus to keep them in order more easily, as at least from fear of the proposed penalties they will not dare to spread such reports as they do at present, nor to live here, with regard to the religion, so licentiously as they do abroad (*nè di viver nella religione, con la licentia che fuor di qua vivono*). This matter being important, it is not known whether it will pass easily; so whether on this account or on others, they no longer talk as before of an immediate dissolution, but expect Parliament to continue sitting for three weeks or perhaps more* and assembly of the bishops, with the most illustrious Legate, they in great part reformed clergy, and the household expenditure of said bishops, reducing the profuse hospitality exercised by them to moderation, limiting the excessive number of their personal attendants, and prohibiting them from being any longer clad as hitherto like soldiers (they being for the most part armed with swords and bucklers, according to the custom of the country), but to wear a soberer suit, and one more adapted to civilians (*ma con habito più grave, et più civile*).

The bishops are endeavouring to effect the repeal of an old Act of Parliament still in force, whereby, besides the first fruits of the vacant benefices, they were compelled to pay the Crown annually, in ordinary (*ordinariamente*), one tenth; for although it has now been remitted them by the Queen, together with the first fruits, nevertheless they are not sure of this cession save during her Majesty's life, as unless the Act be entirely cancelled they might be burdened with the same tax by her successors. The most illustrious Legate is also endeavouring to get this cession confirmed by Parliament, not daring to dispose of these revenues without its approval; and as there is great difference of opinion there, and much contradiction, the matter therefore is not yet despatched.

Two days ago Francesco Piamontese, the courier sent lately by the Queen and Cardinal to Brussels, returned thence with letters from the King confirming his speedy arrival, by ordering his attendants here not to depart; so by Christmas, or shortly afterwards, it is hoped his Majesty will be here, it being considered certain that the Emperor's departure will be delayed until February, or beyond; the comfort derived from which news by the Queen will be easily imagined. Next day this courier was sent express to Spain under pretence of crossing to Portugal about the affair of the Guinea navigation, but in reality to convey a despatch from the King and the Emperor, that it may go more speedily and securely than if sent by sea or by Portuguese couriers, who are detained in France, their bags being regardlessly searched, the packets opened, and the letters, if necessary, being seized; whereas the present bearer, being a "queen's messenger," known everywhere, will be treated with

* Manuscript corroded.

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greater respect. Here they say he has been despatched chiefly in order to urge the coming of Don Diego de Bazan, appointed in the stead of his father Don Alvarez, lately deceased, with the greatest possible number of ships, and, above all, with money, so that on his return he, with the rest of the fleet brought lately by Don Luis de Caravajal, and which is now in Flanders, may be able to take the Emperor to Spain without requiring convoy from any other fleet, or incurring expense for the passage out and home of Flemish and English vessels. Long ere now the Doge will have heard from Brussels whether the courier was despatched for this or some other cause.

The Lord Chancellor is now in such a state that his life can last but for hours. The loss is most important at the present moment, it being freely admitted that for the service of a sovereign, whether as chancellor or for the performance of any other office, no better or more sufficient minister could be desired, as neither here nor elsewhere could his like have been found (*si ch'è nè quì nè altrove, se ne sarebbe trovato un simile*). The Doge also has cause to regret this death, by reason of the great affection and respect he always showed him, both by word and deed, as often, both in public and private, when associating very familiarly with the Chancellor or transacting business, he (Michiel) has had proof of his great and especial deference for his Serenity and his affairs. By the counsel and suggestion of the Queen, this poor personage (*il povero Signore*) made his will appointing her Majesty his heir, knowing that all this his great fortune proceeded from her, thus doing as became a good and grateful servant; nor did he omit greatly recommending his attendants to her Majesty, specifying the remuneration (*mercede*) which, with her approval and consent, he prays and wishes her Majesty to bestow on them. According to report, in addition to some 40,000 or 50,000 ducats worth of property, including household furniture and silver vessels, he leaves 20,000 pounds sterling, the surplus or savings derived from the revenues of his see during his five years imprisonment, when they were levied by the Crown, restitution being made him by the Queen when he was restored to his see, she then authorizing him to reimburse himself through the revenues derived by the Crown from the first fruits. The bishopric of Winchester, yielding upwards of 16,000 ducats annually, will fall vacant by his death.

London, 11th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

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275. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

No date.

Printed in vol. 5,

pp. 53, 54,

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli,"

&c., dated as
above.

What always occurs to him in the first place when writing to the King, a fact well known to his Majesty, is the Queen's earnest desire for his presence, which is the more just, she herself being conscious that, as clearly manifest, she thus does not so much indulge her love for her consort as that for the kingdom common to both of them, and which, being her first love, and thinking chiefly of its welfare and safety, induced her to select such and so great a prince, able and willing to uphold religion and justice, then persecuted in the realm. By the goodness of God and the prudence and piety of their Majesties this result has been obtained, but not to such an extent as not now to have much greater need of the King's personal assistance

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for the confirmation of what was so piously and equitably effected than at the commencement, when piety and justice were recalled. This the Queen experienced heretofore whilst the King was in England, and most especially now when he is absent, but resigns herself to the will of Providence, being sure that her wishes are shared by the King, and that he will come as soon as the interests of his other subjects (*istorum populorum*) and of the Christian commonwealth enable him to do so. In the meanwhile she may be consoled by frequent letters from his Majesty, assuring her of his well-being and giving his opinion of whatever relates to himself, to her, or to the statements made in the letters of the councillors.

The councillors will tell him what has been done in Parliament, but it is the office of Pole to acquaint the King with the acts of the synod. In these times it behoved him as Legate to convoke it, not merely for the reform of the Anglican Church, but also for the approval of the decrees of the bishops and clergy made by them without Pole in their Convocation (*in ipsorum conventu*), which they are accustomed to hold whenever Parliament meets. But as the Archbishop Primate [Cranmer], who has the right to call Convocation, is detained in custody, and as the Chapter, he being as yet neither condemned nor deprived, nor the see vacant, cannot assume the office, it was necessary for the ratification of their decrees, one of which is the pecuniary subsidy for the Crown, that the Legate should assemble this synod, in which he first of all endeavoured to make both sides comprehend the pious counsel of their Majesties in restoring the church property, and the mode to be employed in distributing it, to which effect a writing was then drawn up, comprising both the restitution of the property and the assent of the bishops and clergy, together with the mode whereby they undertook to relieve the Crown from the burden of the pensions derived from that property. This writing was read to the Queen on the day before yesterday, and then, by her command, communicated to the privy councillors (*selectis consiliariis*), each of whom, when they went to Pole, promised him his own individual vote, and also to exert themselves with the others (*atque etiam cum reliquis acturos*) for the approval of the measure with less difficulty (*minore negotio*) both by the Lords and Commons; and, as agreed together, the first reading took place in the Upper House on the day of this letter's date.

It is needless for him to expatiate on the detriment with which England is threatened by the death of the Chancellor, whose life is now despaired of by all the physicians. The King has had experience of his ability in that office, and Pole will merely say that as they already feel as if, together with him, religion and justice were expiring, so from the time when his malady commenced both one and the other in England degenerated greatly, and again did impiety and injustice begin to gain strength, a clear proof of how useful his assistance was to confirm these virtues and repress their antagonistic vices, and how necessary it is to supply his place by one not merely a Catholic by name,—or, if practically such, let him show himself less harsh and stern (*minus tamen acrem se ac strenuum prabet*),—but no less firm and ardent than his predecessor, using such moderation as becomes a pious and prudent man. It is unnecessary for Pole to say more on this subject, as the King of his

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piety and prudence will of himself be sufficiently aware how important it is for the kingdom to have an able Chancellor. If it be necessary to pray God to enlighten their Majesties' minds when selecting ministers of religion and justice, and that they should take the advice of pious and prudent men, above all is this requisite respecting a magistracy on whose administration the entire welfare of the Crown and kingdom depends (*ex quo pendet quicquid majestates vestras aut ipsum Regnum in eo administrando juvare queat*). Apologizes for being thus diffuse on this subject, by reason of his love for their Majesties and his country.

Rejoices to hear from Rome that the disputes between the Pope and his Majesty were on the point of adjustment, as his Holiness was appeased immediately on hearing what the King had written to his ambassador. Hopes that God will grant his Majesty the title of "*Rex Pacificus*," of which this is the evident commencement.

London, 11th November 1555.

[*Latin, 77 lines.*]

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MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

276. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

By the copy of Pole's letter to Cardinal Caraffa, and by what he writes besides to Messer Gio. Francesco, Morone will perceive that the Convocation of the prelates in England has commenced. Expects it to last until Lent, and thinks it would be well for the Pope to write him a brief commending and approving its being held, exhorting him and the prelates to attend with all care to remedy the abuses introduced of late, offering his authority for whatever is required for the honour of God and spiritual benefit of England, and showing that he is well informed about the piety which the King and Queen continue to exhibit on every occasion. Nor in truth could her Majesty evince more zeal than she does with regard to this synod, wishing Pole to proceed as far as possible in restoring the ecclesiastical discipline, which suffered greatly during the late evil times, as Morone might tell his Holiness. They are expecting the Bishop of St. Asaph, and hope he will arrive before Parliament ends, to remove any suspicion that the past alienation of church property is revoked, though they trust that ere then they shall also receive the bull of declaration* to that effect, which has been frequently demanded.

By the last letters from Rome Pole has heard that affairs there have taken that good turn which he always anticipated in proof of his Holiness' good and pacific disposition, the Queen and all good people in England hearing it with an amount of satisfaction equal to their great fear of the contrary, which caused the malignants to show their ill-will.

The country is about to incur a great loss through the death of the Lord Chancellor Bishop of Winchester, who *laborat in extremis*, to the very great sorrow of the Queen and of all good men, and in truth a powerful instrument for the safety and welfare of this realm is lost.

London, 11th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* La bella dichiarazione (sic) in tal proposito.

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Nov. 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

277. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the
DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago a Spanish gentleman was arrested at this court on his way from that of the Emperor, although, by means of Cardinal Pole, he had obtained a safe-conduct for his passage into Spain, and they intercepted the letters which he was conveying to the Regent [Joanna of Austria, Princess of Portugal] from the King of England, together with all the particulars of the cession of the realms made by the Emperor to his Majesty; and, having seized the letters, they dismissed him.

La Ferté Milon, 11th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12.*
Original
Letter Book,
penes me.

278. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to-day to visit Don Garcilasso de la Vega, who, after doing me every possible honour, and expatiating on the goodwill of the Emperor and the King of England towards your Serenity, who he said had reciprocated it with such constancy that their Majesties were bound to have perpetual recollection of it, proceeded to say:—"Lord Ambassador, having been commissioned thus to do, and in accordance with our friendship at the court, I choose to give you account of my whole business. I am come hither to show the Pope that he has no cause nor any reason to doubt the affection of the Emperor, who has done so many things, as known to you, for the service of God, and always had such respect for the religion as would perhaps not have been evinced by any other prince had he received such offers as were made to his Imperial Majesty. Still less should his Holiness be apprehensive of the Emperor's son, that prince being eminently pious and religious. Therefore these military preparations announced to him by letter could not be otherwise than distressing, as there was no just cause for them, and the Emperor and the King of England his lords would always be the obedient sons of his Holiness, should he choose to receive them as such." To this assurance the Pope answered him that he had never entertained any suspicion of such honourable and christian-minded princes as his were, and that he prayed God to make the earth open and swallow him up if what he said to him was not the truth.† Don Garcilasso added, "Lord Ambassador, the words are fair; as yet we have not cause to give them much credit. We know who counsels and who moves him, and for what purpose. It will suffice for my princes to have given testimony of their piety, and of their wish for peace and quiet, and then let happen whatever the Lord pleases. This good old man (*questo buon vecchio*) does not perceive that whilst he was having the drums beat and mustering troops, the Emperor's forces in the kingdom of Naples and in Tuscany might have employed something more than words. It is enough for the Emperor to be justified in the face of the whole world, if compelled, and most especially before the most illustrious Signory. I also

* The Letter Book in the Archives, dates this despatch 9th November.

† E che pregava Iddio che facesse aprir la terra et inghiottirlo, se quanto li dicea non era vero.

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spoke with the Pope about another affair, which I would not discuss on this occasion,* but shall go back to him in four or five days, and the matter is that the Emperor and the King of England wish a certain respect to be had for their vassals and servants, not that his Imperial Majesty do thus command and ordain, but as pledge and security for that goodwill which the Pope says he bears us, and in order not to dishearten and degrade his Majesty's good vassals and servants, it being seen that they are deprived of their territory and persecuted even contrary to right. I shall also execute this other part of my commission which remains for performance in very gentle language, though the Pope must not suppose, because I addressed him the first time as I did, and the second as I shall do, that the Emperor is afraid of him, but merely that it is fitting thus to speak with a Pope and with an old man."

I thanked him for what he had been pleased to communicate to me, confirming the constancy of your Serenity's good friendship with the Emperor and his son, and offered myself to him during his stay at this court, both in the Signory's name and my own.

Rome, 12th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
pp. 56, 58.

279. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to-day, by invitation, to dine with Cardinal Caraffa, and after the repast, having withdrawn into his chamber, he said to me, "You must have seen here the Emperor's ambassador. He came to offer me a pension of 4,000 ducats in Spain, and when I asked him for what purpose he made me this offer, he said that I might serve the Emperor and the King of England in their need. I answered somewhat angrily, Serve! I serve! The whole of Spain, and the whole of England, are not sufficient to purchase my freedom. Should the Emperor and the King demand things that are fitting, I, even were I a Frenchman, and not an Italian, as I am, will favour them, although I have small cause to do so, for after having served the Emperor during 17 years, and well, as seen by his own testimony in writing, I have been ill recompensed; nor do I desire either gifts or favours from them, but solely justice with regard to my priory in the kingdom of Naples; and should it be said that the vassal is never entitled to complain of the prince, I tell you that whenever the prince does not act by his vassal as becoming, the vassal may resent it, and it is fitting he should do so, and of this I would that the most illustrious Signory of Venice were the judge." He said the Emperor's ambassador replied that this was not the moment for entering on these disputes, and that he wished to hear from him what answer he was to give his princes about the proposed pension of 4,000 crowns, and the Cardinal rejoined, "You have heard me; I think I speak plain. What would you have me do with a pension in Spain, of which you could deprive me at your pleasure and convenience. Is not this

* Ho anco parlato co 'l Papa d'un altro negozio del qual non volsi in questo proposito parlare.

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evident in the case of Cardinal Farnese at Monreale" (in Sicily) "and in many others." Cardinal Caraffa also added, "The aforesaid ambassador, moreover, gave me at length to understand that if I would aid the reinstatement of Marc' Antonio Colonna, and the nullification of the securities given by the other Imperialists, they would endeavour to find 4,000 crowns pension for me in Italy;" to which he replied that least of all could they expect this from him, as least of all could he hope to obtain it from the Pope, saying to him, "Were the Pope to ask the Emperor to restore the estate of the Prince of Salerno,* and of many other outlaws, what would the Emperor do, what advice would you give him?" The ambassador replied that the cases were very different, and having repeated that he knew not what decision to write to his princes, Cardinal Caraffa dismissed him, saying that he had spoken plainly.

Whilst the Cardinal was transacting this business in the antechamber with the Imperial ambassador, I was in the chamber with the French ambassador, who, like myself, had been invited to dine with his right reverend Lordship, and the audience being ended he then joined us.

Rome, 13th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
p. 59.

280. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day before yesterday Don Garcilasso de Vega came to return my visit, and said that although he was to go on the morrow to state the rest of his commission to the Pope, he nevertheless did not expect to obtain any of his demands, as, to say the truth, he by many signs comprehended that his Holiness and those about him (*li suoi*) are not well disposed towards the Emperor and his servants, and that the poor old man (*il povero vecchio*) made a mistake in holding so powerful a prince, and one so able to injure him greatly, in such small account; again repeating what I wrote in my former letters, that this office performed by the Emperor and the King of England, through his medium, would serve the world as testimony of what might ensue. Then yesterday, as told me by the Pope, he left with him a writing (as by the enclosed copy),† expressing himself very mildly, to which things his Holiness took time to reply, having listened to them without any anger.

The Lady Giovanna [of Aragon] is, I understand, in despair about her affairs, though she has attempted all ways and means, both through the Pope's sister and all the other ladies his nieces and female kinsfolk.

Rome, 16th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
2nd letter.

281. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, after the first mutual compliments, the Pope said to me, "The statement made to us lately by Garcilasso (but with all gentleness), and which he left in writing, consists in a demand for the

* Ferdinando Sanseverino. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," Index.) † Not found.

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reinstatement of Marc' Antonio Colonna, and many other things. Although we took time to reply to it, we tell you that it does not seem to us opportune to do anything farther at present, and shall determine to refuse him, we also speaking blandly, for our wish would indeed be that these two princes, so powerful and such bitter enemies, should lay aside their animosities, which we shall endeavour to bring about; and we will proclaim to the world the one whom we shall know to be the defaulter in this matter."

Rome, 16th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

282. GIOVANNI MICHELL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

None of the proposals made in Parliament have as yet been decided, either with regard to compelling the absentees to return, or about confirming the cession made by the Queen of the church property, both matters (it is said) having been sharply debated, many members opposing the recall of the absentees, as no one ought to be deprived of his liberty to go and reside wherever he pleased and to his advantage, with the Queen's permission, which it was by no means fair to impede or cancel in the case of those who had already obtained it; but that if in future her Majesty chose not to concede it, in order to prevent any one from living abroad, it was in her power to do so. Touching the second proposal, about the cession, by no means would they give their assent to the alienation of anything, however insignificant, which had once been incorporated with and annexed to the Crown, to the prejudice of its heirs, for the advantage solely of an alien and foreigner (meaning the Pope), although the Queen, they say, during her lifetime may do what she pleases with the revenues of the realm, dispensing them in her own fashion; but as to alienating them with their consent, they would not open this door, lest in the event of the succession of a new king they incur disgrace, and perhaps punishment. In this they still persist, these contradictions proceeding, as told me by a person well acquainted with the present tactics (questi prociederi), from the fact that the present House of Commons, whether by accident or from design, a thing not seen for many years in any Parliament, is quite full of gentry and nobility (for the most part suspected in the matter of religion), and therefore more daring and licentious than former houses, which consisted of burgesses and plebeians, by nature timid and respectful, who easily inclined towards the will of the sovereign, and yielded to it, whereas in the present house the opportunity for audacious licentiousness increases daily, by so much the more as the death of the Chancellor, who was feared and extraordinarily respected by every one, may be said to guarantee the opposition, they being of opinion that there is no longer anybody who knows how to display his authority in such a way as exercised by Gardiner, who from his especial knowledge, not only of public business, but also of all persons of any account in England, knew very well the moment and the means for humouring and caressing, as also, on the other hand, for threatening and punishing, so as to curb and repress audacity and ill-will, whenever necessary. In order, therefore, for the future to prevent admission into the Lower House of so many noblemen,

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from whom this licentiousness is supposed to proceed, a proposal was made lately, with a view to restoring things to the ancient method and usage, that henceforth none should be elected members of Parliament save such as were natives of and actually resident in the counties, boroughs, and towns represented by them, which proposal seems to have been rejected, because to return entirely to the ancient order of things, the opposition insisted on simultaneously prohibiting the election of any stipendiary, pensioner, or official, or of any person deriving profit in any other way from the King and the royal Council, and being dependent on them; so that all the members elected, being devoid of any apprehension for their private interests, may more freely advocate those of the community. This last clause being thus excluded, owing to the detriment which would accrue to the Crown, through the ineligibility of its ministers and dependents, the other likewise was (I understand) thrown out, so that at present there is much procrastination and indecision about matters which are more private than public, the government either not choosing or not daring to make more important motions, from fear of their being negatived by these members of the Lower House.

Has nothing to tell the Doge about parliamentary affairs, and can only add that the Queen finds the loss of the Chancellor more and more serious and important daily, not knowing on what person, well suited to the post, she can bestow it, the candidates limiting themselves to three individuals, either the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby], or the Archbishop of York [Nicholas Heath], or Dr. Wotton [Nicholas Wotton], now ambassador in France, each of whom present imperfections and impediments (*tutti con delle imperfettione e delli rispetti*). Should it not be possible to have a layman, the greater part of the nobility, for the welfare of the kingdom, would wish the post to be conferred on Cardinal Pole; and many are of opinion that it may at length rest with his right reverend Lordship, at the earnest request of their Majesties, owing to the need they have for placing in that office, above all, a person of integrity and sincere; and although it is a most laborious one, and therefore shunned by the Cardinal, nevertheless, with the assistance of numerous officials, as is understood to have been the case hitherto with former chancellors, he would be much relieved, and as the Court of Chancery is said to have much need of adjustment, by no one could it be better regulated than by his right reverend Lordship.

The Lord Chancellor died on the morning of the 12th, of dropsy, as seen by outward and inward signs, the body having been opened to clear up the suspicion of those who attributed his death to poison. He made a very Christian and Catholic end, and, according to his orders, the body was carried to the church of his bishopric, to which he bequeathed the third part of his silver vessels, besides 4,000 ducats ready money, which he had given to the see shortly before his death. The first report about his bequest of the 20,000*l.* sterling was not verified, he, on the contrary, having distributed all his property amongst his servants, evincing great love and gratitude towards them.

London, 18th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

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Nov. 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

283. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The attendants of King Philip say he will return to England shortly after the Emperor's departure, and that he has desired the steward (*maggiordomo*), whom he left with the Queen, not any longer to allow any of the rest of his retinue to come hither; but I have nevertheless heard that this report is circulated rather for the purpose of gratifying the earnest desire of his consort, who by frequent letters earnestly prays and exhorts his Majesty, for the common weal, to go thither, *than because the King, or any of his chief ministers, desire it; they remembering how much mental anxiety and danger of their lives were incurred by them amongst those people (tra quelle genti), and what vast expense his Majesty and themselves were compelled to sustain.* But from what I am assured by a person of quality, the Emperor is of opinion that the King should go to England for a few weeks, *not only to comply with the Queen's wish, as it may effect the object announced by her, of obtaining money, and rule (amministrations) in the kingdom, and perhaps his coronation, and consequently enable him to induce the country (quelle genti) to make war on France, but that they may know his Majesty to have that power which many persons disbelieve, and in addition to this the Queen's pregnancy might also ensue.* The same personage told me besides that should the King determine on going, it will be this winter, *both because it has been remarked that those people* are not accustomed to turn out in cold weather for the purpose of making any riot, as also because in the summer the King was compelled to be in these provinces, where the French might be able to do much mischief were the Emperor and his Majesty both absent.*

Brussels, 19th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 20.

Filza No. 134,
Miscellanea di
Atti diversi,
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

284. Sir PHILIP HOBY† to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

My Lord Ambassador [Sir John Masone] and I purposed to have come and seen your Lordship at Lovaine, but that the weather would not suffer, and I, hoping to have spoken with your Lordship here at Antwerp, repaired thither the sooner. Asks him to call before him "a scholar and countryman of mine named young Sheldon, encourage him in his studies, and show him some kind of courtesy, for that his father, being a very dear friend of mine, may hear from his son's report that my commendation of him to your Lordship may stand him in some stead."

I hope if your Lordship make your abode any time there [at Lovaine], or if you mind not to come hither, I would come and

* Si perchè si ha osservato chè quelli populi a tempo freddo non sono usati di uscir fuori a fare alcun tumulto.

† Sir Philip Hoby was an able diplomatist, and the friend of Titian and Pietro Aretino, as seen by a letter from Titian to Aretino, date Augsburg, 11th November 1550, in Tiecozzi's *Life of Titian*, p. 311. (Edition Milan, 1817.)

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visit your Lordship before your departing. I dare not write unto your Lordship that my Lord Chancellor is dead, for that you would take it very heavily; and thus, wishing your Lordship much increase of honour, and the safety of your person,—and as for your Lordship's religion I will not meddle therewith,—I bid you farewell.

Antwerp, 20th November 1555.

Your Lordship's ever to command,
(Signed) PHILIP HOBY.

[Addressed:]—"To the Right Honourable and my very good Lord Earl of Devonshire, at Lovaine."

[Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:] Sir Philipp Hobie, the 20th of November 1555, from Antwerp to Lovaine.

[Original. Signature alone autograph.]

Nov. 21.
Filza No. 134.
Miscellanea di
Atti diversi,
Manoscritti,
Venetian
Archives.

285. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE, to Sir PHILIP HOBY.

Thanks for his letter sent by this bearer. Is grateful for his and the ambassador's goodwill, and that for his (Courtenay's) sake only they had been disposed to travel to Lovaine. Reciprocates the wish to see Hoby "before I depart, as you (by your more speed to Antwerp) show to have a hope to have spoken with me. The lets shall be very great, and my business very extreme, but we will have both our desires satisfied,* *for I have also somewhat to do with Mr. G. bis*;† but keep it very secret, for if I perform it (as I would you should not too assuredly look for it) I will so steal on you as no unnecessary man shall be privy thereunto, neither going, coming, nor remaining there. Promises to look after young Sheldon, whom he has not yet seen.‡

"I assure you I am very sorry for my Lord Chancellor's death, whose life and friendship to me hath been so commodious and assured. But since (sithens) there is no remedy to recover the loss, I will, with the rest of his unfeigned friends, with patience be content, and pray for his soul. And touching my religion, I pray God yours be, or at the leastwise may be, such as mine, for your good conformity, wherein you have, of him, lost a good schoolmaster. But since (syms) I doubt not you shall find such, whose hot and burning charity will help to instruct you, I repose myself in that behalf well satisfied, touching (*sic*) in haste, as you may see.

This 21st of November 1555.

"Your assured friend,
"E. DEVONSHIRE."

[Endorsed apparently by Courtenay himself:] "To Sir Philipp Hobbie, knight, the 20th (*sic*) Nov^r, from Lovain."

[Original draft.]

* The following words in italics are in Courtenay's own hand, inserted interlineally, the first part of the letter being written by the secretary.

† The words Mr. G. bis may be read No. 4 bis, or Mr. G. bis. It may be either; or it may be an allusion to his money dealings with Gresham at Antwerp.

‡ Thus far, with the exception of the above-noted interlineation, the draft is in the hand of Courtenay's secretary. What follows is all written by Courtenay himself.

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Nov. 22.

Filza No. 134.

Miscellanea di

Atti diversi,

Manoscritti,

Venetian

Archives.

286. JAMES BASSET to EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

Received two letters from him, one by Prune, your servant, the other by my Lord Hastings; and forasmuch as I perceive your Lordship cannot obtain license to repair hither, as your friends were in very good hope you should, which, besides the comfort to your friends of seeing you, would have been an exceeding great furtherance to your affairs, for it is impossible for us to do to your contentation, inasmuch as you being absent cannot perceive so well our reasons that guide us. Nevertheless, as Courtenay now may not come, writes to him, not being able to do so sooner, the cause being that my especial good Lord, and your very friend, my Lord Chancellor that was (whose soul Jesu pardon, as I doubt not he hath), at that time when I received your letter by my Lord Hastings, whereby I perceived you could not come hither, lay then *in extremis*, and what with watching with him, what with extreme grief and sorrow (and as I had most cause), so that in manner I could think upon nothing else, but spent day and night altogether with him, until he died; and after that, being one of those whom he put in trust, as I was, with my Lord Montague (Muntague), whom I should first have named [Anthony Browne], my Lord of Ely [Thomas Thirlby], my Lord of Lincoln [John Whyte], Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Inglefield, Mr. Hardyng his chaplain, and Thwayts (Twhaytes) his comptroller, who be his executors; not knowing also of the going of your servant, whom Prune sent to you in post; this was the occasion why I wrote no sooner.

"Yet we slacked no time after we knew you could not come, and consulted at once how to accomplish your orders for Gresham without hazard of extreme and importable loss to you, whereunto we would by no means assent, for assuring 100*l.* lands to Gresham. Basset says the conditions are so onerous that Courtenay's trustees will not consent to them; for besides all losses of exchange, which we know you should bear, you should at least pay eleven or twelve in the hundreth, a charge intolerable."*

Explains to him how the measures he (Courtenay) proposes for raising money are so ruinous, that he (Basset) and Courtenay's other trustees cannot be parties to them, and advise him to practise with Mr. Buonvisi, that it might please him, upon our credit and bonds, to give your Lordship credit in Italy for 6,000 ducats, which upon sight of your Lordship's bills should be repaid immediately by us here. As for interest, we suppose they will take none, so as your Lordship shall be at no loss but the damage and adventure of the exchange, which cannot be avoided, with whom sooner you had meddled with† . . . and although you should have paid interest for the same, we wish your Lordship should have to do with him

* The usurious rapacity of Gresham contrasts unfavourably with the handsome manner in which the Lucchese banker, Buonvisi (whose firm, as seen in the first volume of the Venetian Calendar, was already established in London in the reign of Henry VII.), seems to have supplied the Earl of Devonshire's need, and the tribute rendered by his trustees to Buonvisi's integrity is in accordance with the good fame enjoyed of yore by the industrious Republic of Lucca.

† I believe Basset's meaning to be that he is sorry Courtenay had not dealt from the first with Buonvisi, rather than with the usurer Gresham.

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before any other, because we know him to be so just a man in all his reckonings, and so friendly and faithful, as the like is not to be found. Suggests how Courtenay should indemnify his trustees by acknowledgment of sale of 100*l.* land to us for the sum of 2,000*l.*; "not because we intend to have the land, or any commodity by the same, but your Lordship being furnished upon our credits of money there, if you receive more than the ordinary of your lands and casualties is able to answer; that then, for the repayment of Mr. Bonvise, we shall sell as much as shall be able to satisfy the same and no more; and so from time to time, as occasion and necessity doth require, and not otherwise; and this, in our opinion, is the best way, not only for the saving of your land, but for your honour and profit also. Advises him to be a good husband of the 6,000 ducats."

We deliver now 1,000*l.* English to make over, because you may keep day with Mr. Gresham and Mr. Bonvise, and in any wise upon the payment of Gresham's money there.

Propose satisfying his creditors in England as far as can be; and rather than the poor men, which hath borne so long, and have so great need, should be any more deferred, Mr. Comptroller and I had rather leave our quarter longer, until more money come in. We have, upon good and pitiful (piteful) consideration, despatched your debt to Blunt, and have saved you some money therein.

For the rest, asks him to give bearer credence; craves his indulgence for this letter written in such haste, and so in the midst of other occupations, that he doubts whether it properly expresses his meaning.

Wishes him a fortunate and prosperous journey, and such a reborn (*sic*) from Rome as your own good heart doth wish.

St. James's, 22nd November 1555.

[Original holograph.]

[Addressed:]—"To the Right' Honorable and my especial good Lord of Devonshire."

[Endorsed by Courtenay's secretary:] "Mr. James Basset, the 22nd of November 1555, from London. England to Sentrone."*

Nov. 23 (?). 287. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's Library, The Privy Councillors (*selecti consilarii*) will have acquainted the King with whatever seemed necessary to them.

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. No date of time. Thinks fit to write to him about the Queen's health, which, although not so strong as could be wished, is such that not only

Printed in vol. 5, pp. 53, 54, does her Majesty not abstain from transacting business, especially since the death of the Chancellor; but the other day (*superioribus*

"Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli," &c. *diebus*), when the renunciation of the church property† was to be approved by Parliament, her Majesty, understanding that there was a difficulty about the matter, as without the votes of the owners of this sort of property, of whom (as the King knows) there is a great number in Parliament, the bill could not pass, she sent for several members of either house, and addressed them so gravely and

* This word (which probably signified St. Trond, on the road from Louvain towards Liege and Cologne) is blotted so that its last four letters are not quite legible.

† November 19. (See Froude, vol. 6, p. 398. Ed. London, 1860.)

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piously, that the act of renunciation (*libellus dismissionis*) having been read three days in the Lords, at length on the third they passed it, with only one or two non-contents; and it is hoped that the like will be done in the Lower House, in which the bill is to be again read this day.

The Councillors will have written to the King how dangerous it is at this season of the year for the fleet to remain any longer on its present station, but Pole foresees yet greater danger for justice and religion in England should the chancellorship be allowed any longer to remain vacant; as it would be no less detrimental to their Majesties' kingdom than if, on shipboard themselves and their pilot overboard, they were to delay the appointment of another helms man. The King very well knows to what a variety of storms England is subject; and since the death of the Chancellor, or from the time when his malady increased, they have had experience of the increasing audacity of all reprobates, and the bent of men of this sort and their opinions (*consilia*) are sufficiently indicated by that notorious libel privily published by them here of late (*libellus famosus is qui nuper hic clam est emissus, satis indicat*);* but, as the proverb says, there are those *qui in cælum os audent inferre*, Pole is not at all surprised at their daring to speak against the King and Queen. The impiety of such people ought to incite good men to be on the watch rather than to take fright, most especially this being the moment, *e somno surgere*, as the Chancellor told the King in the speech delivered to him last year.† Unless a mandate be sent for some one to effect this, by inciting the others, an office better suited to the Chancellor than to any one else, they can promise themselves nothing certain from any other source, for whilst the Chancellor sleeps they see that good men also sleep, whilst bad men are vigilant (*bonos videmus simul dormire, malos autem excitari*).

Has already said too much, knowing the King to be most prudent and watchful.

London, 23rd November 1555 (?).

[*Latin, 41 lines.*]

Nov. 24.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

288. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England refers to his Majesty the appointment of the Lord Chancellor, but naming the Bishop of Ely [Thomas Thirlby] as the person most worthy of that charge, though the King wished her to have also mentioned Lord Paget, in whom he has great trust, as demonstrated by the attendants of his Majesty, here of whom Lord Arundel's son took leave yesterday to return to England, being presented by the King with a chain worth 600 crowns.

* I believe this to be either "Grace to be said at the accession of Elizabeth," of which mention is made by Froude (vol. 6, pp. 399-400, ed. 1860); or else a pamphlet mentioned by the Ambassador Michiel, date 21st January 1556, urging the country to rebel, as King Edward was alive in France.

† Query, at Southampton on the 22nd July 1554.

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Sir Philip Hoby, an English gentleman in much esteem, having come lately from Padua, went to kiss the King's hand, apologizing for his absence on the plea of indisposition; and in the course of a long and gracious conversation held with him by his Majesty, he remarked that the King said he might firmly rely on his favour, Hoby having supposed that the King hated him, for the profession he made of being at heart exclusively English (*di esser solo d'animo Inglese*).

His Majesty has been answered by the Queen, that for his gratification she will pardon Sir Peter Carew; and his wife, who is here, sent him the news to Strasburg that he might come to thank the King, who confers any favour he can on any Englishman, however ill-disposed he may be (*per contumace che sia*), with a view to obtaining their services in the affairs of that kingdom.

When Queen Maria assumed the regency of these provinces, an order prevailed in the privy council, which the King has determined to revive thus, that twelve councillors are to have seats there, namely, six gownmen and six soldiers (*sei di robba lunga et sei di corta*); and he has also decreed that all the governors of these provinces and states be admitted into it [*permanently*] and not merely in time of war, as of yore;* the council residing always with the Duke of Savoy as the King's lieutenant and captain-general; and it is said that his Majesty will shortly appoint a military board (*un consiglio da guerra*), its members to be almost all Spanish cavaliers.

The Bishop of Arras complains of being included in this election, saying that although he promised the Emperor to serve the King in any matters requiring his assistance, he nevertheless did not intend to be expressly bound to this especial charge; and that he hopes for permission from their Majesties, to use his own words, to be a supernumerary servant.

Don Ruy Gomez says publicly that he wishes the King to appoint a number of councillors and of great experience, confessing that he has not sufficient abilities (*forze bastanti*) to bear alone, as others have done, this great business machine,† and that he would be content were the King to grant him the grace to suggest to his Majesty the rewards he should bestow on those who do him good service.

It is reported that after the departure from Brussels of Queen Maria, some officials of these provinces reminded King Philip, and subsequently told the recently-elected councillors, that for his Majesty's advantage it would be well to demand account from the Queen of her administration of the moneys exacted by her from these provinces since she assumed their government, and much disrespectful language is uttered about her. Yesterday the King went to visit her at "Laura," and during more than a quarter of an hour they walked together, and she was evidently in a great rage (*et fu veduta lei tutta piena di sdegno*). Besides the pre-

* Et ha ancho terminato che siano commessi non solo in tempo di guerra come solevano tutti li Governatori di questi Paesi e Stati.

† Questa gran macchina di negotij.

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seats made by the Queens [Eleanor and Maria] to their maids of honour, they are said to have given three years' salary in ready money to their gentlemen, *who complain most bitterly, saying they had hoped to receive such pensions for life, as became their services and their Majesties' dignity.*

The King of England has had his habit of the Fleece prepared (*il Re d'Inghilterra si ha fatto tagliar l'habito del Tosone*), that he may go, as written by me, to Antwerp, to hold the chapter of the Order; and it is said that besides creating the twelve knights, he will give the title of marquis to certain counts, and confer this last title on several gentlemen.

His Majesty has written several times to the Queen to be pleased to exert herself to make a truce, if unable to effect the peace; as between him and France it might, for several reasons, be now made more easily than between his most Christian Majesty and the Emperor.

Brussels, 24th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 25.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

289. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen, anticipating the opinion of Parliament, it having been licentiously said by many members in both Houses that they would not confirm the cession of the church property made by her Majesty, for the reasons already assigned, and apprehensive lest the hardened depravity and malignity of certain persons might endanger the passing of the bill, her Majesty, before having it put to writing as usual, in order to mitigate and conciliate public opinion, and utterly to dissipate the daring of the licentious opposition, determined to use her personal authority in the form adopted by former sovereigns when apprehensive of any of their proposals encountering any repulse or contradiction. She sent for 60 members of the Lower House, besides a great part of the lords and barons, to come to the palace [of St. James's?] where she resides, and with her usual gravity and dignity (*gravità et grandezza*), made them a very appropriate speech, saying they might well know that for no other purpose had she been predestined and preserved by the Almighty for the succession of the kingdom, save that He might make use of her as an instrument for the reintroduction of the Catholic faith; as at all times, and in every condition of her life, by the aid and grace of his Divine Majesty, the more she found herself excluded and remote from the said succession, and the more she was persecuted for religion's sake, the more did she maintain herself in it, wholly (*integra*) and immaculate. This reintroduction, with God's assistance and the consent of Parliament, having been auspiciously effected, she considered the fruit obtained in this matter, and the progress hitherto made, utterly vain and useless, unless, with the assistance of Parliament, her conscience were entirely disburdened from two things which beyond measure oppressed it; the one being her wish to divest herself of the tenths and first fruits, unjustly appropriated to himself, together with the

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ecclesiastical supremacy, by the King her father; the act being cancelled by Parliament (*riprobata da loro*) as unbecoming, and not admitted by any Christian sovereign; the other touching the re-establishment of cures of souls (*chiese curate*) dependent on abbacies and monasteries, called in England "*rectories*," which were completely despoiled of their fruits and revenues, they being impropriated by the King to his own use, to the hindrance and diminution of the service and worship of God,* the said rectories not having been of late, nor are they at present, officiated otherwise than carelessly (*debilmente*) by mercenary vicars, from whom the people could not derive any edification or good example; whereas, were the rectories replaced on their ancient and original footing, the greater the number, and the better the life led by the rectors, the greater and more frequent would the divine service be; and the greater the works and the better the examples, the more would the people be induced to attend divine worship, and be instructed and confirmed in more Catholic and Christian doctrine; her Majesty adding, very energetically, that those who hitherto had evinced so much love for her personally, ought to display yet greater love for her soul, the respect due to the latter being much greater, as the more important of the two; so now should they fail evincing towards her soul the love shown by them for her person, it would convince her Majesty that they in like manner never had loved her person, nor did they love it now. She also added that, as it did not become her sex to use many words, her cousin, Cardinal Pole, to whom she referred them, would tell them more fully her mind and intention.

On the close of her Majesty's discourse, one of the members of the Lower House wished to answer her, having come forward with a grand introduction; but nevertheless before he arrived at any statement, his own colleagues reproached him with presumption, and made him hold his tongue, as it does not become any of the Commons to perform such an office in the presence and sight of the sovereign, save through the mouth of their Speaker; so Cardinal Pole, resuming the Queen's words, enlarged upon every point marvellously, showing moreover that by the cession of the tenths and first fruits the crown did not incur any loss, as it thus freed itself from all the life annuities (amounting, as stated by him in public, to upwards of 25,000*l.*), payable to a number of persons who, at the time of the destruction of the churches, were made to quit the monasteries and their habit; in addition to what was given to many priests, who at the time of the change of the religion, not choosing to renounce the rites of the primitive church, were allowed to retire as laymen into private life; the payment of which annuities is now divided amongst those to whom the tenths and first fruits are assigned, namely the bishops and the clergy, who are still

* "On the 19th of November fifty members of the House of Commons waited by "desire upon the Queen, to hear her own resolutions, and to listen to an admonition "from the Cardinal." "Mr. Speaker declared the Queen's pleasure to be spoken yesterday, for to depart with the first fruits and tenths, and my Lord Cardinal spake for the tithes and impropriations of benefices to be spiritual." (Commons Journals, November 20, 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary.)

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occupying themselves with this matter in Convocation (*li quali a questo tuttavaria nelle loro congregationi attendono*). And as to the re-establishment of the rectories (*restitutione delle rettorie*), he showed, by reason of their quantity and quality, they exceeding 800 in number, what great advantage would accrue to the people and to the members of Parliament, as all this church property and revenue would be distributed amongst their sons, brothers, nephews, and relations without paying either tenths, as paid in ordinary every year according to a decree of King Henry, or first fruits, for which they were answerable to the King, in like manner as annats are rendered to the Pope; again assuring them, and removing the suspicion of any one's being ever molested and troubled on account of the church property held by them as private individuals. They all gave signs of being very well satisfied with this explanation (*officio*), but as the bill has only passed the first reading, the result obtained cannot yet be seen. This confirmation is earnestly sought by Cardinal Pole in order that he may safely dispose of these revenues and property, without any danger lest the persons to whom they are given be molested or deprived of them on the Queen's death. (*Fecero tutti segno di restar per questo officio molto bene edificati et satisfatti, ma non essendosi per anchora fatta la propositione in scrittura, se non la prima volta, (che secondo l'uso et ordine del Parlamento si suol far tre,) non si può veder il frutto et l'effetto che avera fatto. E procurata con instantia, come ho scritto anchora, questa confirmation dall' Illustrissimo Legato per poter sicuramente disponer di queste entrate, et beni ceduti, senza pericolo che doppo la morte della Regina, quelli a chi saranno dati non ne siano molestati nè privati.*)

Understands that Cardinal Pole has been informed on behalf of the Pope that his Holiness, having heard of the charge given him by their Majesties to take part in the organization (*trattatione*) and government of this kingdom, as one of the chief counsellors, determined to ponder and take into consideration how far and in what matters he might take part, because, being Legate, and thus representing the person of his Holiness, it does not seem fit to the Pope that he should interest himself so much in the service of these sovereigns as to prevent the exercise of his legantine office, and that he was not to renounce his present state of dependence as a member of the Sacred College and a papal minister, nor depart from his Holiness' pleasure, according to daily accidents and occurrences, concerning which the Pope would give him instructions in another despatch.

Cardinal Pole does not, however, cease urging the peace, and advancing and keeping the negotiation alive, as much as he can, whenever the opportunity occurs, having already obtained from the Queen what she denied him lately, that he may again use her name and authority with the French. They are endeavouring again to set on foot the exchange of prisoners, to arrange which the Emperor has permitted his son to commence treating. The delay in receiving a reply from Brussels after the office performed by the President (*sic*) [Lieutenant?] d'Amont, concerning the last proposals, approved by the French negotiators, and transmitted subsequently to the Bishop

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of Areas for the Emperor and King Philip's approval, to enable the negotiators to proceed farther, proceeds solely from the Emperor's wish not to have the treaty entered upon before his departure, it not seeming to him for his dignity to go away leaving it imperfect; and whether it comes to any good end or not, he chooses to leave the entire management of it in the hands of his son, without letting it appear that he has any share in it. This is the cause of the negotiations being delayed, although Cardinal Pole does not cease hastening the matter as much as he can daily, as he hears that the Pope will no longer go to war, as was feared. The Constable also continues writing from France to assure his right reverend Lordship that King Henry will not depart from the conditions and proposals made lately, which are those sent to Brussels, whatever prosperity may befall him on King Philip's coming (*segua qual si voglia prospero successo alle cose sue, alla venuta di questo Re*).

His Majesty's return, as confirmed by his letters to the Queen brought on the day before yesterday by her messenger, Mr. Kempe (*mastro Chem suo cameriere*),* besides what he reported by word of mouth, will take place, at the latest, at [the Epiphany, although others, and especially the Spaniards, one or other of whom depart daily, deny this. On the King's return the negotiations for peace will revive, owing to the departure of the Emperor, on which his Imperial Majesty insists, and as indicated by the ships fitted out in the Thames (*preparate qui*), which have all dropped down to the sea, that they may sail in the course of next month (*per tutto il prossimo*), it being hoped that by the reply to the despatch taken to Spain by Francesco the Piedmontese, they will hear for certain whether the Spanish fleet is to be expected thence or not, as, if ready to sail, it ought by that time to have arrived (*la quale se è in termine di venire, doverà à quel tempo essere capitata*); if not, the voyage will be made with the fleet in Flanders, and with the one now fitting out in England.

To the persons to whom popular prediction and report assign the post of Chancellor, Lord Paget has been added, and either for this reason, or because of other public business, on the dissolution of Parliament, which is expected to take place this week, he will proceed to Flanders to King Philip, from whom, and from the Emperor, all the favour shown him proceeds, nor does he fail to seek it by all means, and with all his might.

London, 25th November 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Iuigi Pasini.*]

Nov. 25.
Original
Letter Book,
p. 102 m.

290. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day, at audience of the Pope, he said to me, "You will have seen here the Imperial ambassador and Don Garcilasso de la Vega. They came to demand a reply to what they left me in writing, and,

* See Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, 13 February 1556, p. 240, for the name and title of *mastro Chem*."

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to say the truth, they spoke modestly, asking for what they required as a favour, and in testimony of our goodwill towards their princes. We on our part likewise answered them in such a way that, without granting anything, yet did we not drive them to despair, showing that with regard to the reinstatement of Marc' Antonio Colonna, they ought not to be gratified, as the injury done us is too recent, and that a man who has held his father in such small esteem does not deserve any sort of favour, and least of all from a Pontiff, the Vicar of God, whose commandment it is, above all things, to honour father and mother; and that the Signor Ascanius ought to be released and brought hither to us for punishment, should he have done what he ought not to have done; and if the Emperor keeps him at Naples for his private offences and injuries, yet more does it become us not to reinstate one who has offended us, and is of the nature of Marc' Antonio. In short, Magnifico Ambassador, we refused them, saying that in some greater and more important matter we will display our will towards the Emperor and the King, and that perhaps even in these we might at some other time gratify them, as *duodecim sunt horce dici*, which reply having apparently taken in very good part, they went away. We chose to speak thus, in order not utterly to exasperate them, and we shall go adapting ourself from day to day, and will always give you notice of what may occur," for which I thanked his Holiness.

Rome, 25th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26 ?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date.

Printed in vol. v.

"Epistolarum

Reginaldi Poli,"

&c., without

any date.

291. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

Received the King's letters of the 22nd November yesterday, expressing deep regret for the death of the Chancellor,* and requiring Pole to let him know immediately the person he deemed sufficient to take his place, as the post could not remain vacant longer without great detriment to religion and [the administration of] justice, as they have indeed seen by the experience of these few days, in conformity with his last letters to the King. Would that he could indicate the person sufficient for this office with as much certainty as they know the qualities needed in these present times by its occupant, for (as written by him already, and as he now repeats) he must be a person firm in religion, fearing God more than man, a lover of justice, and, in short, one who by his ministry may reflect the virtues of his sovereigns, like a member aptly responding to its head. Although he sees many persons of whom he has a good opinion, he dares not in a matter of such importance name any one, not having equally well investigated their lives and morality. This he said to the Queen, whose own knowledge of present and past times had given her great opportunity for testing the fidelity and constancy of human nature; a remark applicable also to the King, who having now had experience of the English character for a year (*qua annum jam nostrorum mores experta*), will, from his intelligence, be

* In the despatch of Giovanni Michiel, dated 18th November 1555, it is stated that the Chancellor died on the 12th of that month, and allowing four days for the arrival of a letter in London from Brussels, Cardinal Pole's reply to the King with regard to that event may be dated 26th November.

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better able perhaps to decide this matter than others who have been much longer habituated to the country.

If able to hear anything more positive on this subject, will impart it to the King, though whatever he could learn has been communicated by him to the Queen, with whom, when talking, he fancies himself speaking to the King, whom he will not weary with farther discourse.

London, 26th November 1555?

[*Latin*, 26 lines.]

Nov. 27.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

292. CARDINAL POLE to the ARCHBISHOP OF CONZA [GIROLAMO MUZZARELLI], Nuncio at Brussels.

He lately received his two letters of the 10th and 12th, together with the epistle [to Cranmer] which Pole sent him, and yesterday his letter of the 14th arrived, with the good news from Rome, which must comfort Conza by so much the more as his good offices with both parties have greatly contributed to avert so much mischief. Congratulates him on every account, and assures him that his favour with Queen Mary is thus increased, she being greatly comforted by the intelligence. Pole shares Conza's hope that the journey to Rome of the Cardinals Tournon and Lorraine will give the Pope an opportunity for bringing the negotiation for peace to some good end, to which effect Pole thought fit to write lately to his Holiness, keeping the negotiation alive also by writing to the Nuncio in France, and also to the Constable; and by the Nuncio's last, received to-day, is informed that the French ministers are dissatisfied because at the congress he did not insist more on some agreement whereby to suppress the burnings and obtain an exchange of prisoners, about which Pole wishes Conza to speak to the King, being certain that his compassionate nature will make him readily accede to both these demands, and this may possibly lead to a farther advance of the peace. Will await Conza's reply, to write to France, where the Nuncio says that his Majesty is in great repute universally for goodness and piety. With regard to the individual whom Lord Courtenay has taken with him, Pole, without naming Conza, recommended the persons whose business it is to have greater care of him, that they should endeavour to rid him of this bad company, and Pole considers this good office worthy of Conza's piety. It remains for Pole to thank Conza for the trouble taken in carefully perusing his epistle to Cranmer, warning Pole of what occurred to him, and in like manner as in his suggestions he recognises the archbishop's doctrine (*dottrina*) and good judgment, so in the praises bestowed, Pole recognises Muzzarelli's love and affection for him.

London, 27th November 1555.

[*Italian*.]

Nov. 27.

Original
Despatches,
Venetian
Archives.

293. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Queen Eleanor, the Emperor's sister, has asked the most Christian King for a passport for herself and her court to traverse France on her way to Spain. According to report it will be conceded her.

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The Queen of England has earnestly asked his most Christian Majesty to give one of her couriers a passport for Portugal, and at length obtained it, but the packet of letters is to be marked (*segnato*), and an order has been given at the frontiers not to permit the courier to take anything but her Majesty's packet thus signed.

The Admiral has commenced negotiating the release of the prisoners in virtue of the order given him by his Majesty.

When thanking the Constable for a passport obtained for certain Spanish noblemen, at Cardinal Pole's request, his right reverend Lordship said that hope may be entertained of concluding peace between their Majesties of France and England, both by reason of the nature of King Philip, who, he says, is very desirous of peace and quiet, as also on account of the instructions (*li ricordi*) which the Emperor his father will leave him at the moment of his passage, for as his Imperial Majesty shows himself intent on leading a contemplative existence, it cannot but be supposed that the counsel given by him to his son will prove for the common weal of Christendom. Cardinal Pole said besides that the reason why nothing has been said of late about the peace was solely because King Philip did not deem it becoming of himself (*da se stesso*) to discuss so important a matter in the presence of his father the Emperor; but the Cardinal writes that on the departure of his Imperial Majesty it is well nigh certain that King Philip will immediately enter on this business with such conditions that, should his most Christian Majesty continue as well disposed as he has shown himself hitherto, some good settlement will assuredly ensue. These letters were brought to the Constable by a third person, and by another letter written to a person at the French court by one of Cardinal Pole's chief confidants (and who has always had a hand in these negotiations on that account), it appears that his right reverend Lordship showed the aforesaid letter written by him to the Constable to the Queen alone, and then informed the lords of the Council of England that he had merely written in general terms to show his most Christian Majesty that the affair of the peace had not been utterly abandoned. The letter seemed to give great satisfaction to the Constable, who answered it at great length and sent it for transmission to his (Soranzo's) above-mentioned friend, addressing him in such language as clearly to show that his most Christian Majesty's wish to embrace some becoming form of agreement is by no means changed.

Owing to the small hope of the Bishop of Winchester's recovery, certain persons advised the Queen to give the post of Chancellor to Cardinal Pole, representing to his right reverend Lordship that he might so provide for the business of that charge that what little remained for his own performance would not cause him much inconvenience; but the Cardinal showed himself averse, choosing to attend solely to the spiritual matters intrusted to him (*alle cose sacre pertinenti a lei*), and not embarrass himself with other service, being a cardinal and member of the Holy Roman Church.

Paris, 27th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 30.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
p. 72.

294. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

The Ambassador from the Duke of Urbino* tells me he is ordered by his Excellency to let me know that having requested his dismissal from the Pope for certain reasons (to be communicated to me subsequently), it was granted him, of which the Duke is glad, being thus enabled more freely to serve your Serenity when it shall please you; and that the Imperial ambassador having heard I know not what about this, spoke to the ambassador from Urbino about it, offering the Duke liberal terms (*larghi partiti*) if he would enter the service of the King of England; but the ambassador not choosing to confirm to Marquis Sarria that the leave had been given, answered him vaguely; and when I inquired who would be the Pope's captain general, he replied, "the Count of Montorio."

Don Garcilasso is still here in Rome, and tells people in general that he remains on private business of his own, but to my secretary he said that he is expecting a courier from the Imperial court, and that the Pope thinks to divert him with words and vain hopes, which he and the others (*che esso et gli altri*) pretend to credit, but he will not depart hence until the demands made by him are answered positively in one way or the other.

Rome, 30th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 27,
pp. 74-77.

295. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

Two consistories have been held this week; at the first, on Wednesday, the Pope related what the French Cardinals had told him about the peace, and not satisfied even with this, he chose the right reverend of Lorraine to repeat what he had said to him in his chamber, which the Cardinal did immediately, in such good Latin, and with such decorous action, that he surpassed the expectations of everybody. He said in short that he was present at the conference held lately in Flanders about the peace, at which many good results were obtained.

First, the animosities and harsh words on either side were reciprocally withdrawn; after having negotiated and nearly concluded the marriage of the Infant Don Carlos, King Philip's son, with the eldest daughter of the most Christian King. That the disputes about boundaries between the Emperor and his Majesty were well nigh adjusted, the only remaining difficulty being about the confederates on both sides; and whilst this was being treated without possibility of adjustment, the auspicious news arrived of his Holiness' election, which comforted both parties, it being said that what they had failed to do would be accomplished by the Pope elect, and the conference was dissolved with the understanding that each of its members would perform good offices with their Princes. He said that Cardinal Pole held the thread of this peace in his

* Guidobaldo della Rovere resigned the general captainship of the Church, and was succeeded by the Count of Montorio. (See Foreign Calendar, "Mary," p. 197.)

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hands throughout, and in this matter he greatly praised the Queen and the King of England.

Yesterday, when the second consistory was held, the right reverend Cardinal Puteo,* who was charged to inspect the process sent by the Queen of England against the Archbishop of Canterbury, reported its contents, and although the charges (*opposizioni*) are all deemed wicked and execrable and that they are proved, yet they did not proceed to deprive him nor to inflict any other penalty, it having seemed fit to delay the votes until another consistory.

Rome, 30th November 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

296. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

King Philip has informed the English Ambassador that he has desired his steward Don Diego de Azevedo to send hither the rest of his attendants, giving assurance, however, that according to what he promised by letter to the Queen he will return to her shortly after Christmas. His Majesty is said to have given this order *both from seeing by the letters of the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke that they despair of being able, or do not choose as promised by them, to make England attack France, as also with a view so to agitate the Queen as to cause her to determine on taking some positive step in conformity with the desire and need of her consort* (che ella si risolvì di far in fatto, alcuna cosa conforme al desiderio et bisogno del suo consorte).

Sir John Masone says he has written twice to the Queen, counselling her to convince the most Christian King of her wish for him to make peace with her consort, and that she should send for the French Ambassador and again tell him positively (*con efficacia*) that should she be convinced that his King will not accept fair terms of peace she must execute the treaty stipulated between England and these provinces in 1542, purporting that the two countries were to supply each other reciprocally with 4,000 foot and 600 horse, or the money [for their procurement], for the defence of their respective territories, and for the recovery of places taken by the enemy. This office being in accordance with King Philip's intention, has put Sir John Masone in favour with all the chief personages of his Majesty's court; he remains with them all day in the antechamber, no longer bearing the title of ambassador, but of councillor.

The King kept his bed for three days from fever, which Don Ruy Gomez, who in like manner has been indisposed lately, attributes to his Majesty's unaccustomed application to business; but he is now recovered, and yesterday had six Knights of the Fleece to dine with him in celebration as usual of St. Andrew's day, and the report of his going to Antwerp in the middle of next month continues.

The Mantuan Ambassador told the Bishop of Arras that having

* Jacopo Puteo had been the intimate friend of Julius III., who, after making him Archbishop of Bari in 1550, created him Cardinal on the 20th December in the following year. Paul IV. appointed him Prefect of the Roman Inquisition or Holy Office. (See Cardella, vol. iv. p. 314.)

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heard in secret that peace was being negotiated between the Emperor and King Philip and the French King, by means of England, as also a truce in Piedmont between the Duke of Alva and the ministers of his most Christian Majesty, he requested that the interests of his master with regard to the State of Montferrat might be remembered. The Bishop replied that the reports current in the court about this negotiation were imaginary. The ambassador then performed the like office with Don Ruy Gomez, who told him that perhaps by way of England the Queen and Cardinal Pole, in accordance with their good will, might spontaneously mediate in this matter, and the Duke of Alva also treat some suspension of hostilities, either because requested to do so, or from thinking it advantageous for the King by reason of some sage opinion of his own.

Persons who have lately come from Queen Maria report that she is very dissatisfied, owing to what is said to her disparagement at the court, both by the Flemings and Spaniards.

Brussels, 1st December 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Dec. 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

297. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Lower House, not having yet agreed to pass the bill confirming the cession of the church property, which for its better comprehension and discussion enumerated each article clause by clause (*distinta in tanti articoli quanti erano li capi*), yesterday, after long debate, referred it to a committee of ten members, who, with six to be elected by the Upper House, namely two earls, two barons, and two bishops, with the doctors of laws usually in attendance, are, within five days, to consider and revise the objections alleged against each article, amending and adding as may seem necessary to them, and then to present the amended bill to Parliament for approval or rejection. From the influence of the committee, if they agree as anticipated, it is certain that the measure will not meet with so much opposition as hitherto, which opposition was in proportion to the great fear entertained by holders of this class of property, lest at some future period they, by virtue of this Act of Parliament, should be compelled to make a similar cession.

The President d'Amont, in reply to a letter written hence to him by the Abbot of San Saluto, wrote lately from Brussels that he had again spoken to the Emperor and the King, showing them what the Abbot had written, which they commended, exhorting him to continue urging the Cardinal, by means of his own authority and that of the Queen, to resume the negotiation either with the French Ambassador in England, or by writing about it himself to France, pushing the business in such a way that a commission may be given either to the said ambassador in England, or by sending some other agent elsewhere, as the like will be done at Brussels; d'Amont adding that he found their Majesties excellently inclined towards the acceptance of any fair terms, and that he should by so much the more zealously pursue this matter, as owing to the renunci-

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tion made to King Philip of all the States of Flanders and Burgundy, there being no longer that reciprocal irritation between him and his most Christian Majesty which was said to prevail between the latter and the Emperor, the adjustment between them may, it is hoped, prove more speedy and less difficult; and d'Amont offers and promises on his part to do whatever he can to aid its conclusion, giving the Abbot notice of his proceedings.

On account of this letter, and for something else which it was not chosen to tell me, the chief ministers here have held frequent conferences with the Queen, and with each other apart; the Cardinal and Lord Paget having been summoned on behalf of her Majesty, and on the part of the King, Don Diego de Azavedo and his Majesty's friar confessor [Alfonso de Castro?], a man of business and understanding (who has already interfered in this negotiation, performing many offices), and also the Abbot aforesaid. Subsequently two expresses were despatched, one by the French Ambassador, to whom Cardinal Pole always addressed himself, communicating whatever occurred through the Abbot; the other to Brussels, through the Queen's couriers, and they are awaiting replies from both parties. I am also told that, as an additional stimulant, the Legate did not fail writing to the Nuncio at Brussels to take an opportunity, when with the Emperor and the King, of letting them know that the French complained greatly of his coldness at the conference of Calais, he not having done what he ought and could have done with regard to stipulating that during the war the belligerents should abstain from incendiarism, and agree reciprocally about ransoms and exchange of prisoners, both which matters were so praiseworthy, fair, and necessary; and that he was to persuade their Majesties to consent to this, as by treating it they might also commence negotiating about the chief and principal quarrel.

King Philip has again ordered Don Diego to depart hence. The Queen complained of and lamented this departure, and desired to write to countermand it, had not a letter from Don Ruy Gomez to Don Diego, with orders for him to show it to the Queen in his name, convinced her of the King's speedy arrival, confirming what his Majesty also wrote, that it will take place at the latest at the Epiphany; so she has resigned herself to the departure of these officials, who are preparing for it (but without display), until they receive sufficient funds for the journey. His Majesty's armoury and wardrobe will set out in two days by sea, the German and Spanish halberdiers being sent on board the ships for their security.

Through the return from Brussels of Lord Maltravers, Lord Arundel's son, the only one of the English gentlemen remaining there, the Queen heard of the indisposition of the King, who had two paroxysms of fever, the third, however, having stopped short (*essendole però fallito il terzo*), and sent her messenger, Mr. Kempe, post haste to his Majesty. Lord Maltravers also, like his companions, was presented with a chain worth 800 crowns.

Of late a great quantity of books printed in English have been distributed clandestinely throughout London, concerning the King individually and his mode of government, vituperating the acts of extortion and oppression exercised in his realms, principally in the

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kingdom of Naples and the Milanese, where the natives are not only debarred from any magistracy, dignity, pension, or other advantage due to them by birthright, but they are also excluded from any post in his Majesty's court or household, only one or two Italians of inferior rank being seen there, and everything is reserved for and bestowed on the Spaniards; the author warning the English, to whom the book is dedicated, that the like will befall them also, and that they must therefore look to it whilst there is yet time. Yesterday, on account of this book, all the city companies (*tutte le arti*), by order of the Lord Mayor, met separately in their respective halls to make diligent inquisition as to the place from which this book can have come, for the purpose, if possible, of discovering its author; and orders were given for all persons having any copies of the book to take them to the Lord Mayor, who will then report to the Court what he shall have thus ascertained about it; but the book is supposed to come from Strasburg, from the English who are there, and endeavour by all means to make the people here rebel against the present Government.

The Queen is about to recall all her ambassadors save the one in France, to save their cost; such business as necessary to be transacted by those remaining in the King's name, for her likewise; and Mr. Vannes, the resident at Venice, will soon have orders to return.

London, 3rd December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

298. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Members of the committee for the revision of the articles stipulating the cession, having reported their opinion this morning in Parliament, after great disputes and contention in the Lower House, from daybreak (*dalla prima hora del giorno*), when they met, until 3 p.m., during which time the doors were closed, no one being allowed egress, either to eat or for any other purpose; at length, this evening, the bill was carried by 183 ayes against 120 noes, the Lords being unanimously content, without one single dissenting vote, which Cardinal Pole holds in as much account as he did the act of reconciliation, rejoicing at it extremely, both for the sovereign's repute and his own, and for the benefit of the kingdom, in which strain he is now writing to the Pope.

London, 3rd December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4.
MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

299. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [GIANANGELO?] DE' MEDICI.

Condoles with him on the death of his brother the Marquis. For news of himself refers to his agent.

London, 4th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

300. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Three days ago a wedding took place, the bride and bridegroom being of two noble families in this town, and the King masked, and

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went to dance at the marriage entertainment, remaining there until two in the morning, when he betook himself to the residence of the Duke of Savoy, who was asleep, so he had him roused, and remained a long while with his Excellency, laughing and joking. Count Chinchon, who was sent by his Majesty to congratulate the Pope on his accession, is returned from Rome, and says publicly that, unless provision of counsel and of money be made for the affairs of Italy, they will proceed worse next year than they do at present.

Brussels, 5th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

301. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Emperor will not depart for Spain this winter, and has sent to dismiss the Dutch fleet (*l'armata delle navi d'Olanda*), and has told the King of England to write to his consort that she may dispense with the cost of refitting the vessels destined for his convoy to Spain; but he has not given orders for the departure of the Spanish armed ships, and on the contrary, when their commander, Don Luis de Caravajal, asked his Majesty's leave to go on a cruise against the French, he was refused. Subsequently the Emperor gave permission to the Queens, who came from "Layra" to visit him, to return thither; saying that they were to come back in a few days for the purpose of residing here as usual. The Bishop of Arras, both by his countenance and language, evinces extraordinary joy, caressing everybody who transacts business with him, which is supposed to proceed from no other cause than the resolve formed by the Emperor not to depart for Spain; so that the Bishop will no longer think of retiring, or doubt being employed by the King in the same capacity as he was by his father, and will certainly intend to retain his usual authority (*il che intendera certo di star nella solita sua autorità*). Don Ruy Gomez, on the contrary, looks lean and melancholy, and the persons who negotiate with him say he seems well-nigh incapable of performing such functions as are required by a sovereign from a minister in his position.

The cause of this change in the Emperor's decision is attributed to Queen Maria and the Bishop of Arras, and other Flemish ministers, who, as they never approved the Emperor's departure from these provinces, have persuaded him to revoke it, representing not only the perilous state of affairs in Italy, and the trouble which might arise in the Netherlands, but also that King Philip has not sufficient experience to maintain himself in the States of which cession has been made to him, without the Emperor's counsel and authority. Others, who never expected him to depart, say that the report circulated to that effect was to accomplish the renunciation of these States quietly, and by means of the fleet give support to the Queen of England, and to those English lords who purposed crowning King Philip, and declaring war against France if unable to induce his most Christian Majesty to make peace with the Emperor; and they say besides that it was also for his advantage to ascertain

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more clearly whether the King of the Romans would allow the King of England to maintain the Emperor's authority as Vicar of the Empire in Italy,* and to endeavour to obtain the money grant from the "Cortes" at Monzon [in Aragon], thus favouring the affairs in Africa, and encouraging the Spaniards at Bugia; so the Emperor circulates a report of his having prolonged the period of departure, and will perhaps change his mind about the voyage, going through Germany and into Italy; but certain old courtiers say that his Imperial Majesty will not make this voyage, but will pass the rest of his life in the land of his birth. The King of England has also put off his journey to Antwerp until after the Christmas holidays; the reason assigned generally being the non-arrival from Spain of the commissions from the Knights of the Fleece, as usually sent by them, giving their votes in favour of those proposed; but I have heard from others that this delay is on account of a project under discussion, and as yet not well matured, for laying a new tax on merchandise, with the consent of these States, which could not succeed heretofore owing to the clamours of the merchants.

A part of King Philip's household has arrived from England, and some of his chamber attendants say that on his return from Antwerp he will go back to the Queen at her request, and that of some of the English nobility who are attached to him; and independently of other causes, for the purpose of still keeping the people in hope of his having heirs, *lest by some perverse means* (con alcun mal modo) *they seek the election of a successor to the crown; and as this constant desire of the Queen is notorious here, many of the Spaniards say that the King should not go thither, knowing that he could obtain nothing of importance from her, and that even had she the utmost inclination, and were she to make every imaginable exertion to bring about the peace between the King her consort and the King of France, the English, nevertheless, as they have done hitherto in many ways, will make her desist from the attempt, lest the King thus obtain in effect that authority in the kingdom which he now exercises nominally; this war, moreover, being advantageous for the English, as it causes them to be held in esteem by both sides. The Spaniards also complain that both Lords and Commons have displayed the worst possible will in printed books, greatly to the dishonour of the King and of the Spanish nation, which causes general displeasure here.*

Brussels, 6th December 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Dec. 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

302. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 27th ulto. announced what had been written by Cardinal Pole to the Constable about the hope of peace. The

* Che tornava anco bene a sua Maestà scoprir più chiaramente l'animo del Re de' Romani se voleva conceder che il serenissimo Re d'Anglia gli mantenesse l'autorità di vicario dello Imperio in Italia.

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Constable's reply to the Cardinal was that his most Christian Majesty will never fail showing himself anxious for the quiet of Christendom, and that should the King of England accept the terms proposed by the French ministers at the late conference his Majesty will not fail demonstrating the same goodwill as evinced by him then, and subsequently without intermission.

Flodans (*sic*), 6th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 30,
p. 85.

303. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Wednesday the 4th instant consistory was held, in which they deprived the Archbishop of Canterbury of the archbishopric, and of all the ecclesiastical dignities, and moreover permitted his delivery to the temporal judicature (*et di più permesso che fusse dato* (*sic*) *in mano della giustitia temporale*).

Rome, 7th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7.
Original
Letter Book,
penes me
(second letter),
Letter No. 31,
pp. 88, 91.

304. The SAME to the SAME.

Went yesterday to the Pope; the Pope said, "We well know how intensely we Italians are hated by those who are great, and seek to render themselves yet greater; may God forgive him who was the cause and commencement of our calamities, which annihilated all the grandeur of Italy. At the commencement, when elected to this popedom, which of its own authority takes away and confers both empires and kingdoms, as we ourselves have done by erecting a kingdom for the Irish (*che à quelli d'Hibernia habbiamo eretto un Regno*), it was suggested to us to send legates to both these powerful princes, to induce them to make peace. The moment did seem to us opportune, and we suspected that this office would prove demonstrative rather than necessary, or likely to produce any good result. We have determined to send two of our confidants, the one to France, and the other to the Emperor and the King of England, in such haste as their physical strength allows of, for it is not every man who can bear the fatigue of travelling post-wise at full speed. We shall commission them to send us word or announce in person what hopes can be entertained, and when we shall see the business in a fair way, we will then send personages of greater importance, but we have not yet determined whom to send at present."

Although his Holiness said he had not appointed the nuncios who are to perform this mission, I hear from a very good quarter that Commendone will go the Emperor and the King of England, and the Bishop of Toulon (*quel di Tolone*), heretofore destined as nuncio to your Serenity, to France.

Rome, 7th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 8?

MS. St. Mark's
Library,Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
without
any date.

Printed in vol. v.

"Epistolarum
Reginaldi
Poli, &c.,"
date,St. James's,
London,

5 December.

305. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

When the King wrote to the Queen about his indisposition her Majesty could not but be greatly distressed by the news, though her sorrow was much mitigated, first by receiving the first intelligence through his own autograph letter, and then considering his habitual abstemiousness and sound constitution, this likewise increased her hope that the malady would be neither serious nor protracted. They congratulate his Majesty on this result, rejoicing at it greatly, and pray God to grant him perpetual good health.

On the morrow of St. Andrew's festival [30th November], which was the first Sunday in Advent, as it had been decreed by them in the synod, annually to celebrate throughout the realm by thanksgiving and public prayers the restoration of this kingdom to the unity of the Church, the Queen thought fit now to have it established that this should be done here in St. Peter's church, whither he (Pole) was accompanied by the bishops and all the nobility now attending Parliament in great number, being received at the church gates as Legate by the Archbishop of York [Nicholas Heath] and all the [officiating] ministers of the church as usual, there being a concourse of clergy and people. One of the Queen's chaplains, a pious and learned man, preached a sermon in apt explanation of the great benefit conferred by God on the kingdom through their Majesties, which was also admirably proved by him. Many persons are of opinion that the example afforded by the nobility who thus showed their great readiness to assist at the thanksgiving and high mass, will do no less now to confirm the people in their obedience to the Church than any sermon preached last year, for which be God very greatly thanked.

Three days afterwards the bill (*decretum*) about the church property, submitted by their Majesties to the decision of the Pope and his Legate, was read in the Lower House, and although on several previous days, and on that day also, there was a great debate between the pious members (*pios homines*) and those who seemed less favourable to the cause, it nevertheless obtained a great majority, and nothing remains but to dissolve Parliament, as the Queen will do to-morrow.*

By the enclosed copy the King will perceive the opinion formed in France of his humanity and liberality in releasing the French prisoners. With regard to the peace, it is unnecessary to exhort the King, he being already so well disposed towards it.

St. James's, London, † 8th December 1555.

[*Latin*, 58 lines.]

Dec. 8.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

306. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The three ambassadors appointed by the King of England to the Princes of Germany, to acquaint them with the cession of the

* The despatch of the Ambassador Michiel of 9th December enables me to date this letter accurately.

† Local date in printed copy.

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States made to him by the Emperor, have departed, and he subsequently despatched the Governor of Luxemburg in like manner to the King of Denmark, they being also commissioned to perform the same office with the principal Hanse Towns. On the departure of the envoy accredited to the Princes of the Rhine (*ai Signori del Rheno*) he was desired to inform one of the brothers of the Elector of Cologne that his Majesty has assigned him an annual pension of 2,000 dollars, without the obligation to perform military service, unless it be demanded of him. Don Luis de Caravajal said this day that positive hope has been given him of obtaining leave from the Emperor to go and try his luck (*tentar la fortuna sua*) against some French ships off Britany; from which it is inferred that the Spanish ships also, like those of Holland, will be dismissed.

The Nuncio has received orders that in case of the Emperor's departure for Spain he is to remain with the King, but to return to Rome should his Majesty go to England.

Brussels, 8th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

307. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the passing of the bill for the cession of the church property, the motion for the recall of the absentees was made, but although it was framed in the underwritten form so that it might pass without difficulty, as was the case in the House of Lords, the Act purporting that if the absentees did not return within four months they were not to lose their property, nor have it confiscated, save during the time of their absence, so as to cause no detriment to their children, grandchildren, and heirs; notwithstanding, after long debate and contention, the Lower House threw out the bill. This rejection may be supposed to have troubled the Queen on the score of repute, yet she prudently dissembled, and displayed indifference, and to-day, for the purpose of dissolving Parliament (*per dar intieramente fine al Parlamento*), in her own name and that of the King, she assembled both Houses in her Palace at Westminster, to avoid going such a distance through the ice to the ancient and usual place of meeting; she gave her assent, with the usual ceremonies, to all the Acts passed in it, ending and terminating it entirely, giving leave to the peers and all the others to return to their homes in the country, and relieving them from the great expense they incurred here. Her Majesty then proceeded to Greenwich, not so much to be nearer the sea for the King's return, as for the sake of the monastery there, leaving Cardinal Pole in London to continue [sitting] in the synod with the bishops and the clergy until full completion of the proposed reforms.

The Acts of Parliament will be printed as usual, and when translated into Italian and abridged, will submit them to the Doge.

The late despatch to France was based on an "advice" received from Brussels to the effect that the proposals, sent hence, seemed to the Emperor and the King to differ little from their intention; so

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that if the French adhere to them and wish the negotiation to be resumed, the mediators, namely the Queen and Cardinal, would have little difficulty in adjusting matters. But before the Queen and Cardinal proceeded further, the Emperor and the King were of opinion that, for the avoidance of the contumely which two such personages would incur were either of the parties not to assent to their mediation, it would be better for the person in whom the French have hitherto shown so much trust—meaning the Abbot of San Saluto, the Constable in fact showing daily that he places great confidence in him—to be the one to make this discovery, not only with regard to hearing, but by ascertaining from the French themselves whether they would or not accede to this negotiation; because, if satisfied, the Queen and Cardinal might with such dignity as becomes their station, suggest a fresh congress. This scruple caused by uncertainty of the intention of the French restrained the Emperor and the King from writing to the Queen in person, and to the Cardinal, to perform an office to this effect, their Majesties not deeming it becoming the Queen's dignity to bestir herself at a venture, as this public congress should not be sought by a sovereign save when certain of the will of the parties, as otherwise they produce no fruit, and diminish the repute of those who seek them, whereas the Abbot [Vincenzo Parpaglia] being a private individual, was a better instrument for guiding (*per condur*) such a resolve; so they requested him to enter upon the negotiation, as neither King Philip nor the King of France being irritated or provoked with each other, it might be hoped that the adjustment between them would prove more sure. In conformity with this order the Abbot acted, he having written and sent off the despatch, but with the participation of the French Ambassador resident here, and through his medium. Should the reply be such as is considered certain by the Abbot, he having sent a draft of the reply to be made by them, that he may show and send it to Brussels, the Queen and Cardinal will then discover themselves, either by writing or by despatching two gentlemen, the one to France and the other to Brussels, to settle about the negotiators, and the time and place. If this congress takes place there is good hope of an adjustment, which was not the case at the conference of Calais.

London, 9th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1b.

308. ACTS of the PARLIAMENT summoned in the month of October 1555, and which were confirmed by the most Serene Queen of England in her own name, and that of the most Serene King, on the 9th December.

1. An Acte of a subysdye graunted by the temporaltie.
2. An Acte for the confirmacon of a subsidie graunted by the clergie.
3. An Acte for the contynnuance of certayne statutes.
4. An Acte to take away the benefite of clergie from Benet Smythe for the murder of Rufforde.

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5. An Acte agaynst the byeng of stolen horses.
6. An Acte for the reedifieng of iiij milles nere the cite of Hereforde.
7. An Acte agaynst the excessive taking of purveyours.
8. An Acte that purveyours shall not take victalles within v. miles of Cambridge or Oxforde.
9. An Acte wherby theyres of Sr. Edwarde Nevyle, Knight, arre restored to the remaynder of the barronnye of Burgavenye.
10. An Acte for thenlargyng of the Duchye of Lancastre.
11. An Acte towchyng watermen and bargemen upon the ryver of Thamys.
12. An Acte to make voyde dyvers lycences of houses wherin unlawfull games bee used.
13. An Acte for thamending of highe wayes.
14. An Acte for the vieuyng and sell yng of clothes called Bridge-waters.
15. An Acte touching weavers.
16. An Acte for thinhabitanes of Halyfaxe touching the byeng of woollles.
17. An Acte touching commissions of the peace and gaole delyverye in townes corporate not being countyes in themselves.
18. An Acte wherby the Duke of Norfolk, by thadvice of the L. Chancellor of England, therle of Arondell, and the Bisshopp of Ely, maye make sales and grauntes of his landes, etc., notwithstanding his minoritee.
19. An Acte for the reliefe of the poore.
20. An Acte for thextinguishement of the fyrst frutes, and touchyng order and disposition of the tenthes of spirituall and ecclesiasticall promotyons, and of rectories and personages impropriate remaynyng in the Queenes Majesties handes.
21. An Acte for the kepyng of milch kyne, and for the breadyng and rearing of calves.
22. An Acte for the reedyfieng of decayed houses of husbandrie, and for thencrease of tyllage.
23. An Acte for the reedyfieng of castelles and fortes, and for thenclosing of growndes from the borders towardes and against Scotlande.

(See Statutes of the Realm, Vol. IV., Part I., p. 265.)*

Dec. 11.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

309. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The King of England has determined to keep a factor resident at Antwerp, to enable him to contract loans (*far cambij*) when required, without sending the Secretary Erasso from time to time; his Majesty has made choice of a German, by name Matthew Schetz, with an annual salary of 4,000 crowns.

King Philip's harbingers (*forieri*) depart to-day for Antwerp to prepare his quarters there, he being expected to go thither shortly, though the day is not fixed.

* The ambassador has not registered the act "Touching Poodyke in Marshande" (see Vol. IV. as above, p. 294), and as it concerned the preservation of dikes, a subject of great interest to the Venetians, I am at a loss to account for the omission.

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His Majesty has been again, masked, to another wedding in the house of Madame d'Aler, who is considered very handsome, and of whom he seems much enamoured (*alla quale mostra portar amor grande*).

Orders have been sent to Louvain to print certain articles said to have been stipulated heretofore between the King of France and Sultan Soliman, as also some letters addressed by his most Christian Majesty to Dragut Rey (*sic*),* in which he styles him "*mon cousin*."

This is said to be in exchange for the books printed and circulated in England to the disparagement of King Philip and the Spanish nation, the blame of this being attributed to the most Christian King aforesaid.

Brussels, 11th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

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MS. St. Mark's
Library,

Cod. xxiv. Cl. xv.

310. CARDINAL MORONE to CARDINAL POLE.

If God with His infinite power, goodness, and wisdom rules and directs all the affairs of the world, as Morone believes, although his ignorance and pride often endeavour to persuade him to the contrary, he cannot doubt that what has been done to-day in consistory about providing for the church of Canterbury, was done by His great providence and goodwill, as through His Spirit his vicar has been moved to confer upon Pole the cure of that church, and of all the realm of England, as also of the Apostolic See, and, as Morone hopes, of all Christendom.† Prays God who has called Pole to this toil to increase His gifts to him, so that the appointment may conduce to the salvation of souls and to the divine glory, as universally expected.

The Pope decided to make the proposal in consistory, greatly commending the prudence, goodness, doctrine (*dottrina*), and religion of Pole, much to the consolation of the whole College, which competed with his Holiness in bestowing these praises; the cardinals absent from gout being, Carpi, San Giacomo, Tournon, and Pisani, and Crispo was out of Rome. The Cardinal of Lorraine evinces so much love for Pole that Morone has become his slave, and believes him to be a man of worth, and excellently disposed. The Pope has also willed that from this day forth Pole be removed from the list of cardinal deacons to that of cardinal priests; and when despatching the bulls, will send the other necessary things required hence for the execution of the archiepiscopal office.

His Holiness was also very glad to hear of the convocation of bishops now being held by Pole for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, nor can he sufficiently thank God, and praise the Queen for her piety, in so ardently seeking the constant increase of religion in England, and the welfare of her subjects; and when expediting the affair of the archbishopric, he will send the briefs required for the

* Dragut-Rais was the favourite, and subsequently the successor, of the famous pirate Barbarossa, *alias* Barberousse, who, in the second part of King Henry VI. (Act 4, scene 2), is styled "*Bargulus*, the strong Illyrian pirate."

† "Perchè ha mosso col suo spirito il Vicario suo a dar la cura di essa Chiesa et di tutto il Regno de Inghilterra, ma anchora di questa santa sede, et come lo spero di tutta la Christianità."

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said convocation, having given Fiordibello the order to this effect; and will also send the briefs for the Legation about the peace, which, as said by him this morning to Morone, the Pope hopes for (after God) solely by means of the Queen and of Pole; adding that should it be necessary, he will give him orders to go to Flanders about this business, and to whatever other place shall be deemed expedient; as, in fact, affairs at Rome keep always fluctuating, the Pope being dissatisfied with the proceedings of all the foreign ministers in Italy, both Imperialists and French, they on their part showing themselves equally ill-pleased with the bad actions (*le male azioni*) of his Holiness, so that it will be difficult to do any good in this quarter, although the Pope seems willing to proceed with all patience for the sake of bringing this affair of the peace to an end. Pole will perceive how indolent Morone has become, writing to him so seldom, and when he does write, as at present, not using his own hand. Prays Pole to pardon him, and to love him as usual, and to remember him in his prayers.

Rome, 11th December 1555.

P.S. Salutes Monsigr. Priuli and the Abbot of San Saluto.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14.

Original
Letter Book,
pencs me,
p. 98.

311. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, when speaking about the peace, the Pope said to me, "The French continue well inclined towards it, and to refer everything to us, but we find greater harshness (*durezza*) on the part of the Imperialists, perhaps because their ministers here are not agreed together, nor are they experienced. There is the Marquis of Sarria, a rough Biscayan, with little practical knowledge of business, who was preceded by Count Chinchon, a more adroit and intelligent person, but as the Marquis Sarria disliked him, and he not being ambassador in ordinary, he departed. There has now come Garcilasso de la Vega, a person somewhat tractable and discreet, but in the end they are all alike, *et omnes uno ordine habetis Achivos*. We bear with them as much as we can, in order to preserve fitting means whereby to effect some good."

Rome, 14th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14.

Original
Letter Book,
pencs me,
Letter No. 32,
pp. 93, 94.

312. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The consistory gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to the Cardinal of England, the whole college applauding, and bestowing so much praise on his right reverend Lordship that it was remarkable (*che fu cosa grande*). The friends and servants of Cardinal Pole here in Rome say, nevertheless, that when giving him this archbishopric no one dared reproach him, as they did when he was proposed for the popedom (*al tempo del Pontificato*) [in 1549-1550], with entertaining certain anti-Catholic opinions (*che fusse in alcuni opinioni non Catholici*); and that now even his invidious and lukewarm friends have commended his collation to this bishopric,

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thinking thus to compel him—he having always made the profession he did—to remain for life at his own see of Canterbury, for the government of his church, and by keeping him in this way at a distance from Rome, to free themselves from a very formidable competitor for the popedom when a vacancy shall occur. (*Et per questa via lontanandolo di qui, liberarsi d'un grandissimo concorrente al Pontificato, quando occorrerà il caso.*)

Rome, 14th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

313. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO] CARRAFFA.

Is more and more confirmed in his hope that the presence in Rome of the Cardinals Tournon and Lorraine will facilitate the peace. On the 7th November wrote to Caraffa announcing the opening of Parliament, which has now been adjourned (*che è poi finito*), the subsidy having been granted very readily unanimously (*da tutti*); and they also confirmed the grant of the church property which had been annexed to the Crown, but not without much difficulty and repugnance (*impugnantia*) on the part of some members of the Lower House, though both the Prelates and the Peers agreed to it easily, as Pole wrote in detail to his agent. On the first Sunday in Advent a solemn procession was made for the great benefit received through the reconciliation; and in the convocation of the Prelates it was ordained that this is to be done every year on St. Andrew's day throughout the kingdom. The convocation is still sitting, and Pole will give detailed account of its proceedings to the Pope. Should his Holiness be pleased to send the brief about which Pole wrote to Caraffa, it might arrive in time, as he believes the convocation will not end before Lent.

London, 15th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

314. CARDINAL POLE to [FRANCISCO-DE MENDOZA], CARDINAL of BURGOS.

The merchants in Spain who are commissioned to receive Pole's pension on the see of Burgos, write that when they applied for its arrears to the Cardinal's agents they were told that it was intended always to keep in hand the first fruits of one year. Pole cannot believe that such is the Archbishop's intention, as he remembers the reply given by him on this subject to his messenger at Louvain, which was quite contrary to this, and in accordance with the justice and courtesy always shown by Mendoza towards Pole, and with the affection and service rendered by him to the Archbishop, whom he requests to give orders for the full payment of Pole's entire credit, as he has great need of his scanty revenues, because of the many expenses he has had to incur, and to which he is constantly liable. Had the agents paid the arrears when due, as Pole expected by reason of his reliance on Mendoza, he would have been able to receive the money in England, without any interest, whereas he will now lose about 25 per cent. Received lately the Archbishop's letter, delivered by Count Chinchon, and full of Mendoza's usual

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affection for him, for which he thanks him to the utmost. They have heard in London of Mendoza's going to Sienna. Prays God to comfort that city, as he is sure the Archbishop desires.

London, 15th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

315. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Queen of England sent one of her three chamberlains (*uno delli tre camerieri*) to her consort to visit him (*per visitar Sua Maestà Regia*), having heard of his late slight indisposition, and to tell him that on several accounts she ought not to wish for his return to England (*et per dirle, ch' ella non potria per più rispetti desiderare il ritorno suo in quel Regno*), and that to do him due honour she will not confer either the see of Winchester, or the grade of Lord High Chancellor, nor the charge of the Privy Seal, until his arrival, provided it take place speedily, as such important charges must of necessity be filled up. The King sent him back yesterday, with thanks to the Queen for her loving office and protestations (*et proteste*), announcing his firm intention of performing without fail the promise given her repeatedly as soon as he can, that is to say, on completion of the business which compels him to go to Antwerp. Before his departure the chamberlain said to some of the King's attendants that in like manner as he shall gladly be the bearer of this good news to his mistress, so did he promise not to give account of his Majesty's having twice gone abroad masked in this wretched weather (*per questo pessimo aere*), and of his dancing at the weddings, as he feared lest the Queen, who is easily agitated, might take it too much to heart (*perchè dubiteria che la Regina che è facile ad alterarsi non sentisse troppo passione*).

According to general report, King Philip has appointed Don Luis Davila to go to the Queen to return thanks for what is aforesaid, *but from what I have heard from a person of quality, and who ought to know the fact, for the purpose of negotiating that in virtue of a law of the realm, purporting that any King may of his own authority crown his consorts, the Queen as heir of the crown of England do avail herself of this law, to crown him* (*per negotiar che la Regina in virtù di una legge del Regno, la qual è, che ogni Re di propria autorita possa incoronar le consorti, voglia, come herede che è di essa corona, servirsi della detta legge, per incoronarlo*), *especially as there are many persons of quality, the dependents of their Majesties, who will by all means favour the accomplishment of this result. The same person, who is an Englishman, told me that according to his belief the Queen will not take upon herself to do so great a thing, because there being another statute, compelling all Englishmen to obey their kings in all military matters, after they have been crowned, under penalty of loss of life and property, she would fear a rebellion in the kingdom* (*conciosiachè essendovi un'altra legge che obliga tutti gli Inglesi ad obbedir in tutte le cose della guerra alli Re coronati che siano, sotto pena di perder la vita et la roba, ella temeria di qualche sollevamento in esso Regno*); *and that the*

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English [ministers] now in her service will not counsel her to do so, by reason of their own private interests, especially from suspicion that the King would subsequently displace them for those of the opposing factions (delle fazioni contrarie), who now advise her Majesty to demand this coronation. My informant [Sir Philip Hoby?] came to the conclusion that the Queen will compromise this matter with the King, by giving him part of the money obtained by her from Parliament.

Sir Peter Carew has arrived here and says he will accompany the King, together with Sir Philip Hoby and Sir John Masone, when his Majesty goes to England; Carew thus showing, that although the Queen has pardoned him owing to the King's mediation, he does not venture to go sooner, not having received from her a written release. The King has had a courier despatched to his steward Don Diego de Azevedo with 15,000 crowns, for distribution amongst the persons of his household who remained in England. With regard to his Majesty's departure for Antwerp, it is uncertain whether it will take place before or after the Christmas holidays, and the harbingers who went in advance write that every thing connected with their office is prepared, and that the platform in the cathedral, on which the King is to perform the ceremony of the Knights of the Fleece, will soon be completed. The King would wish the Emperor's attendants to go and wait upon him at this ceremony, but according to report, they find their Flemish creditors determined not to allow them to depart until they pay for the goods received by them, from fear lest they subsequently proceed to England with the King, without returning hither, as is said to be his Majesty's intention.

Three days ago the Emperor again took to his bed from gout, which the courtiers here say has prevented the publication of the renunciation of the kingdoms of Sicily and Aragon, to his most serene son; and Don Ruy Gomez and Gonzalo Perez assure every one that on the cessation of this impediment it will be indubitably published, after which the despatch of all affairs will be heard of.

The Siennese delegates thanked the King for the charitable donation of 20,000 crowns, which they understood had been already ordered by him for the hospitals, but in his reply the King expressed himself ambiguously, declining their thanks, either because he had not sent this commission, or as said by some of his Majesty's attendants, because he does not choose to make a boast of what should be done, and not talked about. These delegates have transacted business several times with the Bishop of Arras, telling him they were commissioned to beseech the Emperor to take pity on their misfortunes, and to give orders for the soldiery no longer to behave with such great insolence as they do, both towards the nobility and others, insulting them in various manners, even in their own houses, as enemies on account of the past events, robbing as much as they can, even the most trifling effects which remained to the inhabitants.

Brussels, 15th December 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

1555.
Dec. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

316. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Enclosed an abstract of the Acts passed by the present Parliament, showing briefly all that had been decreed relating both to public and private matters. Subsequently two or three members of the Lower House were imprisoned for having by word and deed comported themselves more licentiously than becoming. One of them is Sir Anthony Kingston, a gentleman of renown, who has followers, both on account of his wealth as also by reason of the grades conferred upon him here at the Court in the time of King Henry VIII. This individual is accused of being the chief author of the rejection of the bill for recalling the absentees, as on the last day, when the proposal to this effect was made, perceiving that the majority of the Lower House was inclined to throw it out, in order not to give time to the Speaker and the supporters of the bill, as was sought by them, that they might by some intrigue, as they succeeded in doing by the preceding bill for the cession of the tenths and first fruits, gain the "noes," Kingston, followed by some other gentlemen, his friends, putting himself together with them at the door of the house, to prevent any one who had the wish to do so from quitting it, said openly, with a loud voice, that he did not choose the present bill to be treated like the last, which was carried against the conscience of many members by means of delay, and therefore insisted on an immediate division; so by his thus giving courage to the others the absentee bill was thrown out, he and all his colleagues showing, as it were, that they had taken their revenge for the anger caused them by the passing of the church property bill. This Sir Anthony is in the Tower, and as yet in such close confinement that no one may speak to him, so it is not known whether he will receive further punishment for his offence. On the same account strange language passed in the House between Sir George Howard, the Admiral's brother (sic)—although he is gentleman of the mouth (gentilhommo di bocca) to the King—and Sir Edward Hastings, the Queen's Master of the Horse, with great risk of their coming to blows, Howard opposing the absentee bill, and Hastings defending it, according to his custom, as he is one of the Queen's most hearty servants. When the members left the House—being at Lord Pembroke's table, and having commenced debating these matters with some others of Howard's opinion—they were well-nigh maltreated, otherwise than with words, by the Earl, who, taking the Queen's part, in like manner had a dispute with one Master Parcies (sic) [query, Sir John Perrott], his most favourite and familiar gentleman, whom, in a strange manner, he dismissed and turned out of his house, after which event many other gentlemen in the Earl's service took their leave of him.

Thus audacity and discontent gain ground daily, but the individuals in question, being mere private gentlemen, their proceedings are not to be held in great account; on the other hand, the chief nobility and principal personages, if not so, at least show themselves very well disposed and inclined towards the Queen's demands and wishes, commending and defending her Majesty's acts by every sort of demonstration.

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The Portuguese Ambassador has obtained the settlement desired by him with regard to his affair concerning the Guinea navigation. The Queen, on hearing King Philip's opinion, gave orders for the vessels destined for that voyage, which were on the point of departure, having all their stores on board, to be disarmed and unloaded, much to the regret of these Londoners, who are concerned in this navigation, as they thus lose the opportunity for making great profits, in accordance with the experiment made by them; nor was it any use their offering hostages and sufficient security to the King of Portugal not to touch at any place on the African coast dependent on his Majesty, nor to attend to anything but mere trade, as he pretends that it is all his and under his jurisdiction, although as yet he be not acknowledged in all the places of the coast, nor by all its inhabitants. They now, having already incurred the cost of fitting out the ships and purchasing goods, so much to their charge, earnestly request leave to make the voyage for this once.

King Philip's confessor [Alfonso de Castro] has departed hence, and Don Diego de Azevedo, the Lord Steward, with all the rest of the household, will do the like in a few days, an indication, according to some persons, that the intentions announced by King Philip to the Queen of his being here at the Epiphany are mere words.

London, 16th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 17 ?*
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

317. CARDINAL POLE to DON BERNARDO [SCOTTI], afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Trani.

Has received his letter from Rome, and is not surprised at his trouble, but rejoices much at the cause of it; and as to the advice asked by him, can but counsel Scotti to do as Pole himself did in a similar case, by obeying, and the more readily, the more it was repugnant to him, hoping that the goodness of God will always aid and favour Scotti for his own service and that of his Church, for which sole end Pole is very certain that the Pope was moved to show his mind towards Scotti and the other persons named, much to the praise of his Holiness' judgment and piety; and amongst the rest, the Reverend Father Fra Pedro Soto,† who is now in England, lecturing at Oxford, seems to Pole, by reason of the intimate knowledge he has had of him (besides what is manifest to everybody with regard to his goodness and piety), very worthy of every honour, and a very fitting instrument for the service of his Holiness and the Apostolic See, and to the honour of God; may whose grace (he prays) attend Scotti always, and comfort him according to his need.‡ Monsignor Priuli salutes him with all affection, wishing him

* No date of time in manuscript.

† The intention of Paul IV. to give the red hat to the Spanish theologian, Pedro Soto, was not realized, but I know not for what reason.

‡ In Cardella (vol. 4, p. 345), it is stated that Bernardo Scotti was Archbishop of Taranto (*sic*), and made Cardinal on the 30th December 1555. This letter relates to his scruples about accepting the grade of Cardinal.

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every spiritual comfort. Tells him nothing about English affairs, referring himself to his agent, who will deliver the present letter.

London, 17th December 1555 ?

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

318. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Imperial Ministers excuse themselves to all suitors demanding the despatch of their affairs, by saying that they know not how to comply with their wishes, as the Emperor is unable to use his hand for the signature of edicts already determined on, and that they are all occupied about his renunciations [of Sicily and Aragon]; and when these same suitors apply to King Philip's attendants, requesting them to intercede with him, by reason of their urgent need, they are told that his Majesty has determined not to interfere in any matter relating to those realms until the despatch of the acts of renunciation; and if the Emperor's ministers, to oblige any of their friends, endeavour to obtain the King's signature to any letter, his Majesty's ministers, to deprive them of repute, devise such impediments as to prevent its being given.

Queen Maria attends the council of these lords daily, and, according to her nature and custom, is so early in the chamber as to be always the first; and she sends for the Duke of Savoy as authoritatively (*con quel modo*) as if he were a councillor and not governor. It is generally believed here that as the Emperor will not depart for Spain, so Queen Maria will resume the regency of these provinces; and it seems that her chief object is to have the Duke of Savoy sent as governor to Milan, he marrying the Duchess of Lorraine, to which he has given it to be understood that he will consent, provided the King of England promise him the appointment for life.

The King's confessor [Alfonso de Castro] has arrived here, and repeated a variety of foul language (diverse male parole) uttered by the English, indicating their ill will towards his Majesty and the Spanish nation, narrating the following incident, that on seeing him and the rest of the royal attendants depart, they made great rejoicing, well-nigh universally; and he goes saying (*et va dicendo*) that the Queen's wish again to see the King is very great, nay boundless (*grandissimo anzi infinito*), and the confessor's departure, and the order sent for the chapel-establishment to go to Spain (*et dell' ordine mandato che la capella vadi in Spagna*) pained her intensely, as she took it for an announcement either that the King would not return to England for a long while, or that, should he return, he would shortly afterwards proceed to Spain, as is generally believed.

Yesterday King Philip, Queen Maria, and the Duke of Savoy went hunting, and in the evening his Majesty masked himself, to go to his usual amusements (*et la sera S. M. R. per andar a suoi usati piaceri si mascherò*).

Brussels, 18th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1555.

Dec. 18.

Original
Letter Book,
pencs me,
Letter No. 34,
pp. 103, 106.

319. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to
the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope and certain cardinals lately held a congregation, in which they determined to send, in writing, to England, the mode of deposing and degrading the Archbishop of Canterbury, already deprived, and in this same congregation burst forth in violent terms against the Duke of Florence, calling him *Trufarello*, and threatening him. The report of a promotion of cardinals has been so rife, that in the consistory held last Wednesday his Holiness was expected to name them; so the day before, the Cardinal San Giacomo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo], Augsburg, and Morone, and the Imperial Ambassador [Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis of Sarria], urged the Pope to name some at the suit of the Emperor and the King of England, but his Holiness repulsed them, saying he would not name cardinals at the demand of princes.

It was evident from his countenance, as also from what he said the moment he sat down, that the Pope entered consistory in a very great rage, and when the Cardinal de Bellai, the "*Decano*," presented himself, he said he would not give him audience; and then when the Cardinal San Giacobbo [Juan Alvarez de Toledo] made the like demand, after telling him to be gone, when the Cardinal insisted on it, he pushed him away with a blow on the breast (*gli diede una mano del petto et lo rebutò*), which, being done in so public a place, has caused much comment. The Cardinal San Giacobbo, being compelled to sit down, his Holiness said he understood that certain cardinals said he was not at liberty to create more than four cardinals, as it would be contrary to the articles of his oath, which showed that they did not understand things thoroughly, and were not aware that the Pope cannot be bound, and that even other persons are not bound to keep their promises, should they in the course of time perceive them to be detrimental to the common weal, dilating greatly on this point, but little to the honour of the cardinals, quoting many authorities from scripture, and the decisions of canonists, and adding, "and in case any of you are apprehensive of excommunication, we bless and absolve you, for we intend to make cardinals, nor do we choose any reply."* He also uttered some other words purporting that the cardinals have no decisive vote, but only a consultative one, saying besides, that he was compelled by necessity to make cardinals, as in the College he did not see persons of whom he could make use, all having their faction and dependency; wherefore he would make some according to inspiration received from the Holy Spirit, individuals good, learned, neutral, and such as his Holiness could place trust in, and employ on such business as necessary, and that he would enlighten them; nor would he elect anyone by reason of ties of blood, nor at the suit of princes, and that none, neither cardinals nor ambassadors, were to dare to speak to him about cardinals for princes; though on the other hand, were the said cardinals to wish to say anything to him on this subject, he would

* "Et se pure alcuno di voi dubitasse di escomunicazione, vi benedicemo et assolvemo, perchè volemo far Cardinali, nè volemo replica."

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hear them willingly, but in his chamber apart; that he well knew that the poor cardinals did not like the creation of other cardinals, as there is greater difficulty in providing for many than for few; but in this matter his Holiness would make provision, and not permit temporal princes to give and refuse possession of benefices according to their own power, and to the service rendered them by cardinals; that it was contrary to the ecclesiastical liberty for princes to call cardinals and other churchmen to them, by detaining their revenues, and banishing them if they disobeyed; that he could not bear such things, and would provide against them; and that he said this with reference to the Imperialists as well as to the French, Germans, and others who acted thus; nor did his Holiness come to any particulars, either about the number of the persons whom he intended to promote to the cardinalate, or their names.

The "*Decano*," Cardinal Bellai, rose to reply to apologize for the Sacred College, but the Cardinals fearing he might irritate the Pope yet more, would not allow him to speak, demonstrating that it was not the moment, and although his right reverend Lordship said he would speak with all submission and moderation, yet seeing the Pope's violent anger and the little respect shown by him to the College, and all the crowned heads, they were induced not to let him reply.

Rome, 18th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18.
Parti Secrete
Consiglio X.
File No. 9.

320. MOTION made in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA, concerning a Despatch from England.

That the letters of the 24th ulto., from our ambassador in England be communicated to the Senate; the paragraph at the commencement about what he has heard "from those who are negotiating the peace," etc., to be read thus, that "he has heard on good authority," etc.*

Ayes, 26. No. 1. Neutral, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 19.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

321. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL [CARLO CARAFFA].

In consequence of what the Pope sent to tell him by the Bishop of St. Asaph, wrote to King Philip as by the enclosed copy of his letter.

To-day the Queen is going to Greenwich with the intention of there awaiting the King, who promises to be here before the Epiphany. After accompanying the Queen, Pole will return to London, to proceed with what remains to be done in the convocation of English prelates.

London, 19th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* The correspondence of Giovanni Michiel now preserved in the Venetian Archives does not contain any despatch dated 24th November 1555, so I infer that the paragraph alluded to above was in the letter dated 25th November, but not at the commencement, and which I have translated thus, "as told me by a person who is as it were the chief instrument in this negotiation" ("per quanto mi viene dito da chi in questo maneggio, e come principal instrumento").

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Dec. 20.

322. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

As on the return of the Bishop of St. Asaph, the King again commissioned Pole earnestly to continue the negotiation for the peace, although he had never failed doing so with both sides as much as he could, he took occasion from this to send his Abbot of San Saluto to their Majesties at Brussels, to see whether any way could be found for bringing this affair to a good conclusion; nor will he fail to perform every good office with the most Christian King, to the same end, for which the present moment seems the more opportune, as over there (*di là*) they have commenced treating about an exchange of prisoners and cessation of incendiarism, which seems to indicate some disposition towards peace. Queen Mary, likewise, as mediatrix, evinces her usual piety in this matter, and was much pleased to see his Holiness' paternal anxiety to pacify these princes, and hopes that the Pope will avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the presence at Rome of the Cardinals Tournon and Lorraine, to urge this holy matter more strongly, as Cardinal Caraffa wrote to Pole was his intention. Will give King Philip constant account of what shall be done about this, as also of the resolutions of the convocation of prelates, now being held, and to which, now that is adjourned (*finito*), they are attending with more convenience and diligence. The Queen was much pleased with what the Bishop of St. Asaph brought her from Rome, as Pole believes she will have informed the King by letter.

London, 20th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20.

323. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

The Pope having, by the Bishop of St. Asaph, again commissioned Pole to continue the negotiation for peace with all earnestness, he therefore sent the Abbot of San Saluto to Brussels, and will also perform every office to the like effect with the most Christian King; and the moment seems to him opportune, as the parties are treating an exchange of prisoners and cessation from incendiarism, being apparently rather disposed towards peace, the Queen on her part encouraging it by all means, and being much pleased to see the Pope's paternal anxiety to pacify these princes, and hopes that the presence at Rome of the Cardinals Tournon and Lorraine will facilitate the matter. Will give the Pope account of the result of these negotiations, and of the convocation of the English prelates, to which, as Parliament has adjourned, they are now attending with more convenience and assiduity. The Queen was much pleased with the replies brought to her by the Bishop of St. Asaph, as Pole believes will have been announced to the Pope by her own letters.

London, 20th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 22.

324. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

On the day before yesterday there arrived here postwise [from Rome], a chaplain of the King of England, he having been des-

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patched by the Imperial Ambassador with sundry letters from Cardinals and other dependants of the Emperor and King Philip, giving them detailed account of the proceedings of the Pope with regard to the wish evinced by him for their Majesties to make peace with France; they represent his Holiness as discoursing so lovingly with the Imperial Ambassador that the tears seem to come to his eyes from tenderness (*che per tenerezza li venghino le lagrime in su gl'occhi*), but that he subsequently makes similar demonstrations with the French Cardinals; so they come to the conclusion—to repeat the identical words uttered to me by a person of quality—that his Holiness is either *crazy* (*che o Sua Santità delira*), or else by this craftiness (*astutia*) seeks to deceive their Majesties; and one of the Cardinals writes, that to his certain knowledge the Pope is more urgent with the French ministers to wage war immediately than they themselves are.

Since the arrival here of the gentleman from the King of Poland, I hear that the ministers of the King of England have had a long debate about sending his master the Order of the Fleece, from doubt lest, by reason of his friendship with the King of France, it might offend him; and the gentleman aforesaid, speaking with me on the subject, said he thought it would not be agreeable to his King to hear this, the Order coming to him from a king uncrowned (*non incoronato*), but that it would be accepted by him from the Emperor, his father also having had it.

I have been to the Bishop of Arras, requesting him, as the Emperor's malady lasts so long, the gout preventing him from using his hand for the signature of the letter addressed to the Viceroy of Sicily, to be pleased to procure it from the King of England, so as no longer to delay compliance with the wish of both their Majesties. The Bishop apologized, saying that the Emperor's hand being bandaged, he had been unable to sign either this letter or others of importance to him, but that he (the Bishop) would most readily perform this office with the King; and two days later, when my secretary went to remind him of it, he sent the order immediately to Secretary Vargas, who was again in bed, owing to his usual malady of stone, and excused himself from then making this application, nor would he give the letter to another secretary, saying that he himself must speak to the King on this subject. Many indications convince me of the truth of what I have heard from many, namely, that the ministers of the Emperor cannot obtain anything from those of the King.

The jubilee sent hither by the Pope that prayers may be offered up for the Almighty to incline the princes of Christendom to peace is taken by the Flemings with their usual devotion, but the Spaniards say that his Holiness, by keeping so great an amount of soldiery in his pay, shows himself more desirous of war than of peace.

Brussels, 22nd December 1555.

[Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

1555.

Dec. 20.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 36,
pp. 110-113.

325. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Yesterday, in consistory, the Pope conferred the archbishopric of Trani on the Cardinal of Chieti, a benefice worth 1,000 crowns; and the bishopric of Mirepoix, worth 3,000 crowns, on the Frenchman Reumano.

His Holiness chose to confer the see of Trani, although it belonged to the King of England, which the Cardinals respectfully (*modestamente*) opposed, saying that this was the first church which had become vacant under the King of England, who was wronged by this act. The Pope replied somewhat angrily (*con qualche alterazione*) that the Princes not having provided for those churches in time, he chose to do so in virtue of his office, and that the Cardinals did wrong to favour the temporal Princes, and that they ought to seek the aggrandizement of the Apostolic See; nor would he allow them to instruct him about the affairs of the kingdom of Naples, as he well knew how the affair took place; that concession had been made after the death of Adrian,* and that the judicial act was registered in the name of a corpse, using other violent and angry expressions, to the effect that he would punish those who did not obey him. He then said that he should propose as Cardinals certain persons according to inspiration received by him from the Holy Spirit; and that, although he did not choose to make any at the suit of the crowned heads (*de' Principi*), yet he would elect certain honourable individuals of divers nations, so that they ought to remain satisfied. He accordingly promoted seven to this dignity, as he told me on the preceding day.

The first was a Spaniard, Juan Siliceo, Archbishop of Toledo, 80 years of age. He had been tutor to the King of England, at whose request the Emperor gave him that see, saying that as he had conferred the popedom on his own preceptor, who was Adrian, it was but fair that his son should have authority to make an archbishop.

The second was Don Bernardino Scotto, Archbishop of Trani, a Sabine by birth, who was a long while with his Holiness when he resided in that little monastery in Venice, and subsequently when he passed a good part of his life at Padua, in the Theatine Monastery.

The third was Diomede Caraffa, Bishop of Ariano, a Neapolitan, 66 years old, distantly related to the Pope, brother of the Duke of Ariano, who rebelled against the Emperor, on which account his territory was given to Don Ferrante Gonzaga.

The fourth was the Governor of Rome, Bishop of Motula, a

* I am still unable to ascertain the date of the death of Cardinal Adrian Castellesi, Archbishop of Trani, and Bishop of Bath and Wells in England; but in the Venetian Calendar, Vol. 4, p. 487, it is seen that he was alive in May 1523. The words uttered about him by Pope Paul IV., on the 19th December 1554, were "quella concessione era statta (sic) fatta doppo morto Adriano et che fu rogato un cadavere." To me, the six last words are a mystery, and I can but translate them according to my own guess with regard to their meaning. The list of the Archbishops of Trani in the "*Bibliothèque Sacrée*," Vol. 25, pp. 222-226, is very confused, and makes no mention at all of Adrian Castellesi.

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Sicilian, by name Scipione Rebiba, an old servant of the Pope, whose service he entered as chaplain.

Fifth, Giovanni Reumano, a Frenchman, Bishop of Mirepoix, 50 years old; and I hear that early in the morning, when told that he would be cardinal, he rose from his occupations, and, prostrating himself before a crucifix, said, "*Unde hoc mihi?*"

Sixth, Capizucchi, "*auditor di ruota*," a Roman, by name Giovanni Angelo, and 40 years old. He is said to have found favour with the Pope because when his Holiness, as cardinal, charged him with a suit in which his niece was concerned, and Capizucchi having passed sentence according to justice, he sent him 100 crowns, of which Capizucchi took but six, saying such was his fee, and sent back the rest, which to the cardinal, who was then secretary, seemed such a proof of goodness that on the present occasion he chose to reward him; and in addition to this, being a Roman, the Pope thought, by electing him, to do what was agreeable to all the Romans, whom he seeks to propitiate in every way.

The seventh was Giovanni Groppero (Gronpiero), a German, Provost of Bonn, who has the reputation of an able theologian, and is about 60 years of age. He attended the Council of Trent as servant of the Archbishop of Cologne, so it is suspected here that the Archbishop-elect, who was one of the six heretofore proposed, may resent this, and many other Germans will perhaps do the like.

The Sacred College admitted them without opposition, and, with the exception of Toledo and Groppero, who are not at Rome, they were called into the chamber of Cardinal Caraffa, with whom (after consistory) they dined, and then late went to the Pope, who gave them the hats. Before consistory broke up a number of cardinals rose to ask the Pope to elect Don Alfonso, the son of his nephew Don Antonio, a youth 20 years of age at the utmost, but who may be said to have been brought up and educated by his Holiness, who, comprehending their wish to speak about this, dismissed them, telling them they would do worse, and must not proceed further (*dicendoli che furiano peggio, et che non bisognava andar più oltre*).

The cardinals were induced to perform this office in favour of Don Alfonso, not so much for the sake of showing their regard for the Caraffa family, and ingratiating themselves with the Cardinal and his brothers, as to deprive the Pope of an opportunity for a fresh election of cardinals, which they suspect might take place sooner, for the sake of naming his aforesaid nephew, as nothing disturbs the Sacred College more than frequent nominations to that grade.

The present election is spoken of at this court in various manners, but, to say the truth, it is not much commended, nor does it seem to have been made in the manner expected, the Pope having said that he would appoint very eminent individuals (*huomini molto segnalati*).

His Holiness' nephews are dissatisfied with him, because they were unable to obtain one single nomination of those desired by them, and thus it seems to them a loss of repute, the inference being that they are not of much authority with him.

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The French cardinals, likewise, were unable to obtain even one of those who were very earnestly demanded by them.

Rome, 20th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

326. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the
DOGE and SENATE.

Was told by the King that his commissioners had been twice with the Imperialists about the exchange of prisoners, but merely settled to send a messenger to the Marshal de la Marek to know his will, and his Majesty said, laughing, "The Imperialists proposed that I should give them Marienburg for the release of the Constable's son, to which my commissioners merely replied that Mons. de Montmorency is the son of the Constable, and not of the King of France, and that rather than cede Marienburg the Constable would give all his sons." His Majesty also said that for the release of the Marshal they demanded the castle of Bouillon, which was denied them in like manner, and that in the negotiation a distinction was made between the prisoners, negotiating separately about those who belonged to the Emperor, such as the Marshal, and those who were the property of private individuals, like Mons. de Montmorency.

In conclusion the King said that, although the Imperialists showed themselves very haughty (*altieri*), yet did it seem that some settlement (*conclusionone*) might be hoped for, most especially as the King of England had shown signs of great goodwill, having had some gentlemen prisoners released, paying their ransom with his own money, the King adding, "Ambassador, I cannot but be well satisfied with good works." I asked his Majesty if between these commissioners there had been any talk of making any adjustment between their Majesties, to which he replied that neither side had exhibited any commission to that effect, although in the course of conversation between them it had been said, "It would be high time to devise some adjustment between both these two crowns." Rejoined that the King of England was understood to have shown himself very well disposed, and that some good result might therefore be hoped for. His Majesty replied, "Yes, of the King one can in truth say nothing but the utmost good, and of the Queen of England likewise, she and Cardinal Pole not failing to perform every good office. As for me, I shall always be of the same mind as I have told you several times, and made known to the whole world." Inquired when the Emperor's departure would take place. He said he did not know for certain, but that it ought to be about Christmas; and his Majesty, having then paused, I congratulated him on the arrival at Rome of the Cardinal of Lorraine. The King seemed glad of it, and said he was in good health, as also the Pope, who since his election had grown younger and become fat, so that he might be expected to live for 20 years. Rejoined that his Holiness seeing himself so favoured by his Majesty, it was not surprising that he should be in such good plight, and that something had been said about the wish of the Pope likewise to mediate and devise some form of adjustment between his Majesty and the King of England. "By my faith, ambassador," replied the King, "the Cardinal [of Lorraine] writes to me *that as yet*

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he did not well know what his Holiness had in his mind, though it is true he discussed the matter but in general terms, and the cardinal gave him account of what took place at the late conference, and of my wish not to depart from what is fair; but down to that time the Pope had not made any proposal to him, and so far as I have heard his Holiness sent a despatch on the subject to Cardinal Pole."

Replied to this, that the Pope on the one hand wishing to mediate in this matter, and Cardinal Pole on the other negotiating in like manner with the Queen of England, it seemed to me that sure hope might be had of some adjustment, whereupon the King, shrugging his shoulders, said, "God grant what is for the best; as with regard to me, I will not fail doing what is fair, as was always intended by me, and as I gave to be understood by word of mouth from my commissioners at the late conference."

Blois, 23rd December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

327. GIOVANNI MICHIEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Bishop of St. Asaph [Thomas Goldwell], who was sent hence lately to give account to the Pope of the cession made by their Majesties of the Church property, and to be confirmed in his bishopric, besides narrating the many honours and favours received from his Holiness, *has very earnestly represented to Cardinal Pole, in the Pope's name, that this side must by no means drop the affair of the peace, as he hopes that the Queen likewise will persevere in the offices hitherto performed by her, and his Holiness likewise on his part will employ all his authority and power. Cardinal Pole, encouraged by this relation, in addition to the recent advices from Brussels, without awaiting farther reply to the despatch sent lately to France, anticipating that it will prove such as he wishes it to be, in order to gain more time, and have as much space as possible for the negotiation, before the arrival of the funds with which to carry on the war and raise troops on both sides, as devised during this interval, has determined to send the Abbot of San Saluto across the Channel to the King and to the Emperor, to learn and ascertain thoroughly the will of their Majesties, and convince himself whether it be really such as written by the President d'Amont, coming to such particulars as are necessary in a similar affair, about which he will negotiate face to face for the avoidance of such scruples as are common to sovereigns in business of this sort with regard to committing their affair to a third person; and should he find their Majesties so disposed as to warrant hopes of an adjustment, he, comprehending easily whether they accede to it or not, the entire negotiation having passed through his hands, will, at the option of the Emperor and the King, either go in person to France yet more to straighten the treaty, or else return to England, leaving the Queen to send some one for the purpose, so that, should they have, as seems almost necessary, to hold a fresh congress either here or elsewhere, it may be effected with less trouble. For this occasion,*

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therefore, and for this end, the Abbot departed four days ago post-wise, and on his negotiations the entire success or failure of the business in these parts depends. Besides sending the Abbot, Cardinal Pole also forwarded a despatch to France by the secretary of the French ambassador in England, who preceded the Abbot by three or four days. Does not know whether the ambassador sent him express post haste for this or some other purpose.

All the ships (four excepted) which had been armed to convoy the Emperor have been recalled from sea to the Thames, and disarmed, to save the expense. The four remain to secure the passage between Dover and Calais for Don Diego and the rest of the King's household, which is already on the way; the Queen, on dismissing Don Diego, having given him a chain worth 1,200 crowns, which she placed round his neck with her own hands.

The parties concerned in the Guinea voyage were unable to obtain permission from the Portuguese ambassador to make it for this once only, although the Queen interceded for them, but two or three ships have gone thither secretly, with little fear of being impeded or molested.

London, 23rd December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 24.
Miscellaneous
Documents,
Venetian
Archives.

328. DEPOSITION of MARCO DA RISANO.*

Marco of Risano, being examined before the most excellent Lords Chiefs [of the Ten], was addressed thus:—

"You told the Procurator, Carlo Morosini, that you know of an order given for the murder in this city of Courtenay, who is coming from England to Venice. Narrate what you know concerning this matter."

To this interrogatory Marco of Risano replied,—

"On the 28th (*sic*) of August (1555), Ruy Gomez quitted England for Flanders, and before his departure he gave orders for me to speak to him, and I found him booted (*tutto instivolato*), and on the eve of departure, so that I was no longer able to speak to him. He said to me,† 'Captain, thou art to cross over to Flanders; thou wilt come to see me there.' I crossed on our Lady's Eve in September, and went to Brussels, where I found the said Don Ruy Gomez, and having gone to him several times, he made me return repeatedly. At length, on the 18th October, when about to proceed on my journey, I went and saw him, and he said to me, 'Captain, I have heard of your renown, that you are a brave and honest man, and can do a service which will be very agreeable to me. If thou wilt perform this service, I will give thee a thousand crowns, and obtain for thee the favour of King Philip, who will cause thee to obtain more than thou hast had from the Emperor. A certain

* As this deposition contains a very heavy charge against the Spanish minister, Ruy Gomez, it has been thought fit to give it in full, that the reader may be better able to judge of its veracity, and at the same time form an idea of the renowned freebooters, the "Uscques."

† "Di modo che non gli potei parlar più; lui mi disse," &c.

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individual is going to Venice, named Courtenay, who expects to be King of England. On my sending to thee a person of mine, according to description, you will be able to discover his abode, and perform the service in his company, as he will have other companions, and you, who are acquainted with the place, will be able to find boats and the ferries for their escape, so that they may not be seized; they are good men and true (*loro sono homeni da ben*), and carry three harquebuses, each with three balls. When they shall have done the deed, assist them, and escape with them into Puglia, when thou shalt see what I will do for thee.' I answered him that, on the opportunity's presenting itself, I would act willingly; answering thus for my own benefit, but God forbid I should kill any one for money, were they to give me Naples; and so as I speak the truth so may God help me, nor as yet has any thing more come of it."

The Ten then said to Marco of Risano, "You told the aforesaid most noble Morosini that you had the means of rendering obedient to us a great captain of the Uscoques;* say what means you have, and who this captain is."

To this he replied, "On the day of the Corpus Domini I was travelling to Flanders, and on the road found the Captain Zuan of Segna, who was going to the court of Ferdinand, King of the Romans. I did not know him, and, as he was clad in our fashion, I approached him to learn who he was, and from one of his servants I heard that he was Zuan of Segna, and requested to make his acquaintance. We went to Mittenwald in Bavaria, and I lodged in the same hostel with him, and clad myself in the Slavonian fashion, and we sat at two tables. At first he thought I was an Italian, but immediately, on seeing me in that garb, he sent to know who I was. I gave my name, and he immediately jumped up (*saltò*) from his table, and came to embrace me, saying, 'I know your renown, and that you and all your brothers are brave men, and I wish to oblige you, as with us (*in casa nostra*) they say you have a good character at Venice, and with all the potentates of the world.'

"We sat thus, pledging each other in our cups, and became very great friends that evening. He began talking to me about the Signory of Venice and the Uscoques. I told him that he and all the Uscoques do very wrong to outrage the most illustrious Signory, saying, 'Lord Captain, quit that road; for the Venetian Signory never dies, and has a long arm, and takes hares by cartloads (*et pia lepra per li carri*), as they did in the case of Milos. The Signor Cosazza was in our bands, having been driven from his home by the Turks, and he came to Venice, the Signory graciously giving him an appointment. Then Cernovich, being expelled by the Turks, went to Montenegro, and he likewise had stipend from those gracious Lords. Musacchi and the Balsi clan came, and were all taken into the Republic's service,

* The Uscoques were Dalmatian outlaws, whose chief stronghold at the time of this deposition was Segna. (See *Histoire des Uscoques*, par Amelot de la Houssaie, p. 19, translated by him from the Italian of Minuccio Minucci, Archbishop of Zara; and it may be read in the original, in the fifth volume of the works of Fra Paolo Sarpi, ed. Venezia, Mejetti, 1677.)

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as likewise their friend Alessio Sparri, every one of them being reinstated (*remmessati*), the Signory punishing those who persisted in their crimes, and they made a bad end. Do you not know about Versacio, a robber, the Signory's enemy, who, seeing he could not escape, asked for a safe conduct, and was received by those gracious Lords, who, like Christ, embrace all comers? We, the poor children of Risano, having been expatriated by the Turks, were in like manner embraced, and received honourable stipend. The other potentates change, but the Signory remains for ever. When Segna and Croatia, which cannot long hold out against Sultan Soliman, shall be taken, where will you go? Would it not be better to seek a home whilst there is yet time?' He replied, 'And would the Signory take me?' I said, 'Yes, sir; for all are received, and they would rather have you alive than dead, because they are very meek Lords (*Signori humilissimi*), and always wait for their enemy to turn from his wickedness (*opinione*).' He then said, 'If I tendered them my obedience they would not give me employment (*inter-tenimento*).' I replied, 'If thou camest like an honest man, with our company, showing thyself faithful as I am, and pointing out to them all their enemies, and so many islanders their vassals, who spy, and injure, and put them to shame, I am of opinion that they would not fail to give you employment in some place, and so it would be well for your Lordship to renounce sin, and the shame of taking other men's goods, most especially being such a brave, handsome gentleman as you are (*massime un bel zentilhomo valente, et di seguito, come sete voi, et vostri fioli*), with followers, you and your children, and the Signory will certainly not fail you if you are true to yourself.' He replied, 'After my death how will my sons fare?' I said, 'They will be honest men; the Signory will not fail them either, provided they renounce plundering, for the wolf lives by plunder, and never has a home, and dies a bad death.' On hearing this he got up and embraced me, and chose to have me for his sworn brother, tendering me an oath upon my weapons (*sopra le mie arme*) not to tell this to any one; and thus did he promise to render obedience to the most illustrious Signory, together with his company, offering to destroy the Uscoques and all your enemies, and to point out the spies and everything, and he told me, on my return from England, to write to him at Segna; but, having returned, I wrote nothing. It is true that, having come hither, a native of Fiume told me that said Signor Zuane desired him to tell me to give him (Zuane) news of the service (*aviso del servitio*). I am not acquainted with this native of Fiume, but believe him to be still here. I went to Messer Carlo Morosini and told him everything, as I always have done, with regard to whatever has happened to me. I, my most illustrious Lords, am now here; if you wish me to write, I will write; if you wish me to go in person, I will go, being ready to risk my life for the service of your most illustrious Lordships; and that you may know who this Signor Zuane is, I will tell you that he is a native of Segna, from 46 to 50 years of age, the handsomest and most sinewy man I ever saw in my life,*—sage,

* Un bellissimo homo sforzato, che mai non vidi un simile.

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polite, eloquent, with a number of children, but I know not how many. He is the greatest captain the Uscoques have, and the chief of all of them, and I believe he is known to your Serenity's representatives. He was on his way to the Court [of Ferdinand, King of the Romans], carrying presents for the King's secretary, Guzman, to adjust the affairs of the victualling department in Croatia (*le cose del vivere di Croatia*), and we quitted each other at Lanzpurch, near Augsburg.

Lectæ confir. Monitus de silentio, et quod quando venerint illi de Archibuseris, faciat Dominos certiores.

[*Ex tergo*] 24th December 1555. Deposition of Marco da Risano, that Ruy Gomez requested him to assist in having Courtenay murdered in Venice, and he (Marco da Risano) offers to place Zuan da Segna, captain of the Uscoques, in our service.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 26.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

329. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

I went to communicate the summaries from Constantinople to the King of England, both to have an opportunity for again reminding him of the despatch of the letter to the Viceroy of Sicily, as also because I had already comprehended that he wished me to perform this office in person. According to his custom he used most loving language in thanking your Serenity, and seemed thoroughly to understand the importance of that galley's departure from Constantinople for Algiers, owing perhaps to the advices received from Spain, purporting that after the capture of Bugia they intended to attack Oran. Reminded him of his courteous offer to despatch the letter to Sicily, saying I had announced to your Serenity his compliance with this fair and just demand, and wished now to tell you of its having been carried into effect, and as by reason of the gout the Emperor was unable to sign the letter, I requested his Royal Majesty to write to the Viceroy, either in the Emperor's name or his own, which on every account would prove, I supposed, as authoritative as I could wish. He replied that he hoped the Emperor would have his hand free to sign it in three or four days, and that, if not, he would ask permission to do so in his name. From fear lest this matter be further delayed, I used such language, when thanking his Majesty, as to induce him at length to despatch it, which with a joyful countenance he promised to do in the act of my taking leave.

The Abbot of San Saluto, who came heretofore to the Emperor, in the name of Cardinal Pole, to treat about the peace between his Majesty and the most Christian King, has returned with credentials from his right reverend Lordship and the Queen to the Emperor and King Philip. Immediately on his arrival he went to the Bishop of Arras, and on the morrow had audience of the King, and after long conversation with his Majesty and his right reverend Lordship about the various means whereby to resume the negotiation for peace or a suspension of hostilities during two years, being asked whether he had any written instructions on the subject, he said he had not, but

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that Cardinal Pole had been moved to send him again in consequence of a brief lately received from the Pope, charging him to recommence this negotiation, and to pray the Queen again to take it to heart, adding that before his departure he knew her Majesty had a conference with the French ambassador, evincing a stronger wish than ever for the peace to be made, and using certain haughty expressions (*usando alcune alte parole*), in case the King of France show himself averse to an act so beneficial for Christendom. In conclusion, the Abbot said he was come to obtain a written assurance, if not from the Emperor, at least from the King, of their will with regard to commencing any of the negotiations aforesaid. He was received graciously, the King promising him a reply, and the greater part of the courtiers seemed very glad of this mission, especially as the Nuncio had lately read to his Majesty a letter from the Count of Montorio announcing the Pope's most ardent wish for him to come to the King for this purpose, and even praying the Nuncio to find him a lodging; *but neither can fair words nor these demonstrations convince the chief personages of these courts that the Pope is sincere, as, if he were, they would consider the peace concluded.*

Brussels, 26th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 27.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

330. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the day before yesterday, Mons.^r de Basse Fontaine,* joint commissioner with the Admiral at the conference for the release of the prisoners, arrived here at the court, and announced the decision for the release of all of them with the exception of four, namely, the Duke d'Arschot [Philippe de Cröy] and the Count de Mansfeldt, his most Christian Majesty's prisoners, and the Marshal de la Marck† and the Constable's son [François de Montmorency], who are the Emperor's prisoners. The conditions are that for their release all save the four above mentioned are to pay one year's rental, and one year's salary or pension of which they may be in receipt from their sovereigns, it being declared that the fathers now living of the prisoners on either side, if they choose to ransom their sons, are to pay but the half of their annual income. His most Christian Majesty has signed the articles, one of the commissioners having gone in like manner to obtain the signatures of the Emperor and the King of England on their part; the commissioners aforesaid being ordered to meet again on the 1st of next month, when they will not fail to make a last effort for the release of the four personages aforesaid, though there does not seem to be much hope of their ransom.

Blois, 27th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

* Sebastien de l'Aubespine, Abbé de Bassefontaine. (See the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, Queen Mary, p. 208, and Index.)

† Robert de la Marck, Sire de Sedan, Duc de Bouillon, Marshal of France. (See Calendar as above.)

1555.
Dec. 28.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

331. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This day the Secretary Vargas sent me the letter addressed by the King of England to the Viceroy of Sicily, which I enclose, *but in my opinion it contains words which will not be to the satisfaction of your Serenity*, for whose information I add that by all the negotiators now here for Italian affairs it is said publicly that not only do the Emperor and the King write occasionally to the said Viceroy with a certain deference (*ad un certo modo con rispetto ad esso Vice-Re*), but also that very few of the commissions contained in their letters are executed by him. On the Emperor's recovery I will propose the suppression of the letter written by his Imperial Majesty, who did not choose to confess and communicate according to his usual custom at Christmas, and as was done by his most Serene son, saying he would acquit himself of this duty on rising from his bed, and when his mind shall be freed from thought about the renunciations of Spain and Sicily. Sends copy of one of the letters whereby his Majesty gives notice in those realms of this his will; all the other letters, upwards of 2,000 in number, containing the same words, with a change of titles.

The commissions sent by the Knights of the Fleece, which the King of England waited for before proceeding to Antwerp, have arrived from Germany, but nothing is said about his Majesty's departure taking place so speedily as had been arranged, some persons supposing it postponed from the wish to see these renunciations carried into effect, as also because the 300,000 crowns which were expected from Spain before Christmas have not arrived, so that the Antwerp merchants have been compelled to defer payment of the bills of exchange until the next fair, which will be the third since payment was due; and as orders have been sent to Bazan, the captain of the seven ships which were to convoy this money, to remain in Spain, so that, if necessary, he may cross over to Africa to succour Oran, the merchants and courtiers have a suspicion that the money will not arrive so soon.

Brussels, 28th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 29.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

332. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

After the Abbot of San Saluto's conference with the King of England about the peace, he in the name of the Queen performed an earnest office (*ufficio efficace*) with his Majesty, apologizing for her non-adoption of any of the resolutions desired by him (*per iscusarla, s'ella non viene a far alcuna di quelle risoluzioni che desiderava*) in the matter of the coronation, or with regard to waging war on the most Christian King, as mentioned in my former letters, telling King Philip that when she looks round and carefully considers the persons about her she scarcely knows one who has not injured her, or who would fail to do so again were the opportunity to present itself, and that since she is Queen, the afflictions and perils

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undergone by her have been and still are so great, on account of the religion and from anxiety to preserve public quiet, besides other vexations, that she knew it to be impossible to form either of these important resolutions, without greatly endangering her crown (*senza estremo pericolo delle cose sue*), but that she hoped in the course of a short time to comfort the King with what he seems to desire; and in her Majesty's name and as his personal servant the Abbot exhorted him to go to England as soon as possible, *but I have heard from a person of quality that his Majesty is not inclined to do so, and that the Emperor is of a contrary opinion.* King Philip, however, has written back to the Queen *feeding her in general terms with this hope*, and suggesting that in the meanwhile she could fill up the important offices now vacant, as he shall be satisfied with any appointment made by her, but recommending Lord Paget and the English Ambassador in France [Dr. Wotton] for the Chancellorship.

Brussels, 29th December 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Dec. 30.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

333. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Henceforth shall have but little to tell about English affairs, as Parliament being ended, and the Queen having immediately retired to Greenwich, it may be said that all business of importance is terminated. On Christmas eve the Queen of her clemency released from the Tower and from prison Sir Anthony Kingston, who had been confined there lately for what took place in Parliament, he having duly acknowledged the error committed by him, and asked pardon of her Majesty, who, nevertheless, considers him a very faithful vassal and servant, which greatly aided his release. The ship "Pasqualiga and Tamisera," which made the voyage from Lisbon to Southampton in 12 days, brings news that the Infant Don Luis, brother of the King [John III.], died on the 28th ulto., the loss being considered very important for the kingdom of Portugal, which was ruled chiefly by his counsel and ability; it is added that the other brother likewise, the Cardinal [Henry], being very much grieved by this death, was in the same danger.

Letters have been received from France dated the 13th. Does not know whether they are the reply to those written hence which they are expecting, but they are still more anxious to know what shall have been effected at Brussels by the Abbot [Vincenzo Parpaglia], whose business, if not thwarted by the intrigues (*prattiche*) of the French in Italy with the Pope, which seems to be again feared, will have a good result.

London, 30th December 1555.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. ?

334. CARDINAL POLE to the CARDINAL of TRENT.

MS. St. Mark's Library, Cod. xxiv. Cl. x. p. 176, verso. Pole being protector of the congregation of Monte Cassino since many years, and the monks setting a jealous value on the usual graciousness and favour of the Cardinal of Trent, have requested

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Pole to assure him that their non-compliance at this last chapter with his mandate about a person recommended by him for a certain lease (*locazione*), proceeded solely from the just causes stated by them, and they evince great regret at having been unable to satisfy his Lordship in this matter, as they wish to do in everything at all times. Recommends them heartily, and requests the Cardinal to favour and protect them for his sake.

London, December.

[*Italian.*]

A.D. 1556.

1556.

Jan. 1.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

335. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Has had a visit from the Abbot of San Saluto, who told me he had come to King Philip by order of his master the Cardinal of England, and by the will of the Queen, to recommence the negotiation for the peace; having, moreover, the commission sent by the Pope to Cardinal Pole. The Abbot has some reliance on its succeeding, owing to a reply received from the Constable of France, whereby his Excellency confirms what he said to him at Gravelines about the articles of the peace. This the Abbot has now referred to the King of England and to the Bishop of Arras, as follows:—

That the most Christian King chooses the Republic of Genoa to restore what it holds in Corsica, and that if the Emperor will restore the Sienese territory, the French will restore Mont' Alcino and other places to Siena, the Emperor causing Piombino to be restored to its lord; and that the King of France will leave the Marquisate of Montferat to the Duke of Mantua provided the Emperor will leave Piacenza to the Duke of Parma. With regard to the duchy of Lorraine, the Constable implies there will be no difficulty, and his most Christian Majesty is willing to give the city of Metz to the Empire on condition that it be debated at the next Diet whether, should he choose to acknowledge it as a fief, he may legally hold it, in the same manner as the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and other princes of Germany possess other towns and states of the said Empire, he being also content that both sides restore the places taken reciprocally on these frontiers; approving moreover of the marriage between the Infant of Spain and one of his daughters, and of the stipulation of the peace on these terms; but that should the Emperor speak of Piedmont for the Duke of Savoy, he was content to leave it him provided the state of Milan be given to his most Christian Majesty, or as recompense (*sic*) to the Duke for his own, his Excellency renouncing his claims (*attioni*) to the King of France, who in that case would bind himself to maintain the Duke in his state against any opponent, and would also renounce his own claims (*attioni*) on the kingdom of Navarre. The Abbot added that he

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told King Philip and the Bishop of Arras that by the Constable's letter he understood that if their Majesties (the Emperor and King Philip) did not approve of these terms, he was content to discuss the making of a truce or suspension of hostilities, and that he had found the King of England so anxious for peace, that, to use his own precise words, he would have conceded one of his states for its attainment; but the Bishop of Arras, perhaps by the Emperor's order, had shown himself very hard (*difficile*) and harsh in the replies, not choosing on any terms that a word should be said about Milan; whereupon the Abbot told him that he greatly deceived himself if he thought that any form of peace could ever be established without giving up that state, not indeed to the King of France, but to an Italian prince, and that on every account it could be no one but the Duke of Savoy. San Saluto then told the Bishop that not anticipating such difficulties on his part he had been commissioned to proceed to France to negotiate the matter, but that he was now compelled to return to the Queen and Cardinal.

Subsequently the Abbot came to tell me that he hoped to be soon despatched from hence, and that he would then have an opportunity for going to the most Christian King, with whom and with the Constable he would mediate earnestly, as he deemed becoming, and as he had done with the King here and with the Bishop of Arras, whom the Abbot threatened with more sinister events than had hitherto occurred, as owing to the peace made with the Sophy, the Turk was better able to perform great exploits both with the army in Hungary and with the fleet in Italy, and perhaps in Africa, owing to the disturbances in those parts; but that a peace or truce between the Emperor and the King of France would take place, if in the first place all such matters as could reasonably be conceded were arranged; and that it seemed just to him that such differences as could not be settled by their Majesties themselves should be referred to the Pope. He also told me that King Philip had been inclined to send commissioners to England, and that he reminded him in reply that heretofore this had been proposed to the Constable, who said it would be in vain, as were his most Christian Majesty to send anybody but the Constable himself, it would be to parley and not to negotiate, and that for other causes it did not suit his Excellency to go to England. In conclusion, he expatiated much on the good will evinced by the Constable towards the peace, telling me that he told the King and the Bishop of Arras that in his opinion it would be well to perform loving offices with his Excellency, and to gratify him by the release of his son, both on that account, and to show the world that in like manner as he has known how to direct the war, so is he also capable of making peace, and of inducing his King to do things which are perhaps not credited here.

I have heard that they will send the Lieutenant of Amont to Cambrai to answer the French commissioners about the prisoners; and as to their general expressions concerning the peace, he will reply in the same bland terms.

Brussels, 1st January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.
Jan. 3.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

336. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador at Brussels, to the DOGE and SENATE.

This morning King Philip sent for the Abbot of San Saluto, and after saying he might return to England, gave him letters addressed to the Queen and Cardinal Pole, with a long instruction about the Emperor's will with regard to the peace, about which the Queen will give him her commands as to the time of his going to France, and what he is to do there, the Emperor and his Majesty referring themselves to her affectionate discretion.

On new year's day the Emperor chose to confess and communicate, although he had said he would defer doing so until after the publication of the acts whereby he resigns Spain, Sicily, and Burgundy to his son; the which acts having been engrossed on parchment some days ago, all the letters addressed to those whom they concern being also prepared, and awaiting nothing but the Emperor's signature, nearly all the courtiers of both their Majesties remain surprised at such great delay, which causes very much confusion; and all persons who have any business to transact complain that they can obtain no decisions from the ministers either of the Emperor or of the King. Some persons suppose this to be caused by the Emperor's indisposition, he again having the gout in his hand; *others to his having been seized with a certain melancholy, attributed by some to his having to do so solemn a deed (dallo haver a fare un cosi grande effetto); and some think it proceeds in part from finding himself deceived in his preconceived opinion that his son was capable of bearing so great a burden, he now knowing that the King of England takes delight in frequent masquerings, rather more than becomes the present troublous times, and that his most intimate servants not only do not apply their minds to the study and performance of serious business, but cause their master to devote himself to other similar pleasures.*

The pages and others of the King of England's household have arrived, and bring word that the ship which was bringing his Majesty's baggage foundered, both the persons and mules on board being drowned, nor was it possible to save any sort of property.

The Emperor and the King received a courier yesterday from Spain, with letters from the Princess [Joanna of Austria, Regent of Spain], the Archbishop of Toledo, the Duke of Arcos, and from the Count de Alcaudete, Governor of Oran, telling their majesties of the great preparations making by the Moors in Africa to besiege that place. Many persons say that should this war continue the King of England will go to Spain.

The King and the court have had permission from the Emperor to array themselves in silk, his Imperial Majesty's chamberlains saying that he himself will wear mourning as long as he lives for the death of his mother.

Brussels, 3rd January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.

Jan. 4.

Original
Letter Book,
pencs me.
Letter No. 39,
pp. 130, 132.

337. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A few days ago the Pope sent a monitory to Donna Giovanna d'Aragona,* wife of the Lord Ascanio Colonna, not to marry her daughters without licence from his Holiness, and that if they made a marriage otherwise, he chose it not to be valid, even if consummated, and excommunicated all persons interfering in the matter. Donna Giovanna, suspecting that the Pope intended to give her daughters in marriage to some of his own kinsfolk, with the consent of their father the Lord Ascanio (and there was already a report of the Signor Giovanni Matteo Stendardo, his Holiness' nephew and seneschal), she, moreover, not having the means of maintaining herself here, on new year's eve went out of Rome, with her daughters and her daughter-in-law,† so secretly that the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa knew nothing of it until the 22nd hour (2 p.m.) on the 1st of January, when they sent the light horse after them, but the fugitives were so much in advance that they got safe to Tagliacozzo, an estate of theirs in the Abruzzi. The Pope and Cardinal are troubled by this departure; and by their order the soldiers on guard at the gate of San Lorenzo have been imprisoned, as also some of Donna Giovanna's servants who remained here; but subsequently the Count of Montorio contrived to have their effects sent after them, saying they belonged to the daughters, who are not to be blamed for obeying their mother. I have heard various accounts of the mode of their departure, but the one given me by persons intimate with the family, and which seems to me probable, is as follows:—At the 8th hour of the night (midnight) Donna Giovanna rose from her bed, making her daughters and her daughter-in-law, the Lady Donna Felice (who is in about the seventh month of her pregnancy), do the like, and with four of her most trusty domestics, Donna Giovanna and her eldest daughter mounted on horseback, the former on a hackney, the latter on a genet, with their hair and cloaks turned up,‡ so that they seemed to be men, the pregnant daughter-in-law and the other daughter placing themselves in a litter; and presenting themselves thus at the gate of San Lorenzo, they were announced as noblemen of the court going for their pleasure to Tivoli, at so early an hour that they might be able to return home in the evening; and thus, having given eight or nine giulij as a fee to the gatekeepers, who were also requested to keep the gate open later than usual to enable them to re-enter Rome in the evening, they were allowed to pass.

It is said that her son the Lord Marco Antonio had come as far as the frontiers for this purpose with some cavalry and 300 foot, but this is not known for certain.

The departure of these noble ladies made the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa suspect that some stir might take place here in Rome, so

* Giovanna d'Aragona was the sister of Ferdinand Francesco d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara. (See Foreign Calendar, 1555, September 26, p. 121.) The Avalos family, which passed from Andalusia to Naples, claimed descent from William of Avalon of the blood royal of England, who established himself in Navarre in the year 926, after the accession of Athelstan. (See Genealogies of the Avaalos family.)

† Felice Orsini. (See Foreign Calendar, Index, page 418.)

‡ Con li capelli et tabbari imbautati, che pareano huomini.

1558
Jan. 4
Original
Index Book
Page 100
Lam. 20. 25
p. 100 102

337. BERNARDO NAVARRO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the Pope and Senate

A few days ago the Pope sent a messenger to Donna Giovanna d'Aragon*, wife of the Lord Alonso Colonna, not to marry her daughter without licence from his Holiness, and that if they made a marriage otherwise, he should be not to be valid, even if consummated, and recommended all persons interested in the matter to Donna Giovanna, suggesting that the Pope intended to give her daughter in marriage to some of his own kindred, with the consent of their father the Lord Alonso (and there was already a report of the former Giovanni Matteo Stembardo his Holiness's nephew and secretary), and moreover, not having the means of maintaining herself here, on New Year's eve went out of Rome with her daughter and her daughter-in-law, so secretly that the Pope and Cardinal Carafa knew nothing of it until the 22nd hour (2 p.m.) on the 1st of January, when they sent the right horse after them, but the fugitives were so much in advance that they got safe to Tagliacozzo, an estate of theirs in the Abruzzi. The Pope and Cardinal are troubled by this departure; and by their order the soldiers on guard at the gate of San Lorenzo have been imprisoned, as also some of Donna Giovanna's servants who remained here; but subsequently the Count of Montorio contrived to have their effects sent after them, saying they belonged to the daughter, who are not to be blamed for obeying their mother. I have heard various accounts of the mode of their departure, but the one given me by persons intimate with the family, and which seems to me probable, is as follows:—At the 8th hour of the night (midnight) Donna Giovanna rose from her bed, making her daughter and her daughter-in-law, the Lady Donna Felice (who is in want of the seventh month of her pregnancy), do the like, and with four of her most trusty domestics, Donna Giovanna and her eldest daughter mounted on horseback, the former on a hackney, the latter on a grey, with their hair and cloaks turned up, so that they scarcely be seen, the pregnant daughter-in-law and the other daughter placing themselves in a litter; and presenting themselves thus at the gate of San Lorenzo, they were announced as noblemen of the court going for their pleasure to Tivoli, at so early an hour that they might be able to return home in the evening; and thus, having given eight or nine grana as a fee to the gatekeeper, who were also requested to keep the gate open later than usual to enable them to re-enter Rome in the evening, they were allowed to pass.

It is said that her son the Lord Marco Antonio had come as far as the frontiers for this purpose with some cavalry and 300 foot, but this is not known for certain.

The departure of these noble ladies made the Pope and Cardinal Carafa suspect that some stir might take place here in Rome, so

* Giovanna d'Aragon was the sister of Ferdinand, Francesco d'Aragon, Marquis of Pescara (see *Foreign Calendar*, 1558, September 25, p. 121). The Aragon family, which passed from Aragon to Naples, obtained licence from William of Aragon, the blood royal of England, and subsequently from Henry in the year 1526, after the accession of Aragon. (See *Chronology of the Aragon family*.)
† Felice Colonna (see *Foreign Calendar*, Index, page 118).
‡ Can li capelli di rasoio indicano che la persona è maschio.

they posted several detachments of troops in divers parts of the city, and two companies in particular were quartered in Campo di Fiore, near the Imperial Ambassador; but although he and all the other Spaniards are greatly angered by this, it is incredible how much they endeavoured to dissemble the fact.

Heretofore these ladies were required to give security not to leave Rome at the time when it was demanded of the Cardinal Camerlengo,* Camillo Orsini, and the others, but they replied that they had no one to give it for them, and that they would pledge their dowers as they had nothing else, the which dowers are secured on the estates of the Lord Ascanio, they being in the Pope's hands; so by this magnanimous and famous flight† they are not worse off than they were, and have set themselves at liberty.‡

It is said that the Pope has revoked the confirmation made by him at the commencement of his pontificate of the brief of Pope Julius conceding to the Emperor the half fruits (*i mezzi frutti*) of Spain, nor can his ambassador, the Marquis of Sarria, elicit any decision.

Rome, 4th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

338. KING PHILIP of ENGLAND to CARDINAL POLE.

Jan. 4.
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

By the Abbot of San Saluto Pole will have learnt the Emperor's reply about the peace, and what the King wrote to Figueroa for communication to him, he being also acquainted with the King's wish for whatever may benefit Christendom.

Pole will remember that when he spoke to the King on behalf of the Pope about providing for the Archbishopric of Trani,§ the King replied that he would not confer that see until Pole received a reply from the Pope. The King has waited until now, and so long a period having elapsed without the arrival of this reply, he cannot with a clear conscience any longer delay making the appointment, and especially as he has heard from Rome that the Pope intends to bestow this benefice because it became vacant at his court, which is contrary to the custom and power exercised by the Emperor since the time of many popes; so the King has conferred this see and gives Pole notice accordingly, that he may know how much right he has to do so, which will suffice to satisfy the Pope.

Brussels, 4th January 1556.

Autograph postscript.—The church has been conferred on a native of the kingdom of Naples, according to the statutes.

[*Spanish.*]

* Guido Ascanio Sforza. (See Cardella, vol. 4, p. 142.)

† Onde con così honorata et illustre fuga.

‡ Already in the year 1555, some three hundred sonnets were printed at Venice in praise of Donna Giovanna d'Aragona, in Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish, the editor saying that he had also received some composed in the English language, but he did not print them; but I do not know whether any verses were addressed to her after the celebrated flight with which she commenced the year 1556.

§ In the "Bibliothèque Sacrée" (vol. 25, p. 225, ed. Paris, 1825), it is stated that in 1555, on the death of Bartolomeo Sartorio, Archbishop of Trani, Giovanni Bernardino Scotti, a papal subject, and who became Cardinal, succeeded him; so I suppose Paul IV. cancelled the appointment made by Philip II., whose words are, "esta yglesia se a proveído a natural de aquel reyno conforme a los capitulos del."

1556.

Jan. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

339. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot of San Saluto departed for England to-day, and told my secretary that he was the bearer of a writing whereby the Queen and Cardinal are informed of the will of the Emperor and of the King of England in the matter of the peace, about which the only verbal announcement he has to make is that their Majesties' minds are well disposed towards it. He was ordered to travel postwise and with all speed, and he expected either to be sent to the Court of France or to return hither.

The Duke of Lunenburg has arrived with 40 horsemen. He was met by the Bishop of Arras, and taken to the palace of the King of England, where his Majesty received him kindly, for according to the German custom he gave his hand to all the Duke's attendants (*diede la mano a tutti i servitori suoi*); they and the Duke remaining so satisfied with this first entry, that they said his Majesty seemed to them now to excel in courtesy *as much as he did in haughtiness at Augsburg*. The chief cause of his coming was to make himself known to the King, and to offer him his services in case of need.

According to public report, the Emperor chooses to have the registrar constantly with him, who keeps the roll of all the officials of his court, that he may know minutely how long each of them have served, and the arrears due to them, and from the registrar's discourse it seems that his Majesty purposes placing so many in the service of his son that he does not find any on the roll who are to remain with the father. His Imperial Majesty has already caused the King to appoint and proclaim M. de Boissie as his "*maggiordomo maggiore*," he having been the Emperor's master of the horse, but he will exercise the charge solely in these provinces.

I have heard that all the Cardinals, the Duke of Florence, and others, their Majesties' dependants, continue writing that they must not allow themselves to be deceived with the idea that the Pope is sincere in his wish for peace; his great demonstrations being made for the purpose of manifesting, at such time as he shall think fit, his evil intention towards the Emperor; but in every despatch the Imperial Ambassador at Rome expresses a belief that his Holiness' thoughts all tend to a good end, and that his nature is such that, by making him speak so variously and angrily, he gives the world a false impression of himself (et che la natura sua sia tal, che facendola parlare sì variamente fa credere ad altri quello che egli non giudica); but notwithstanding this, none of the chief personages of the Imperial Court hold the Ambassador's opinion in account, saying that his goodness exceeds his knowledge either of the Pope's character or of the affairs of the world.*

Brussels, 5th January 1555.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

* Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis of Sarria.

1556.

Jan. 5.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

340. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Last night a gentleman came to his most Christian Majesty, having been sent by the Admiral, who is at the conference, and brings word that on the first and second instant the Imperial Commissioners conferred with the French, and that the Imperialists proposed the truce, on condition that his most Christian Majesty make certain restitutions, which, being rejected by the Admiral, who declared that as he believed his King would not refuse the truce, so he was determined not to restore anything unless the Emperor also did the same, and much having been said without any approach to the adjustment, they adjourned to the 7th instant. They also discussed the release of the prisoners without coming to any decision; but as it is hoped that this matter will be arranged, comprising perhaps even the four who were excluded, so with regard to the truce, it seems that here since the arrival of this gentleman the hope of it has greatly diminished. *The day before yesterday M. de Lansac arrived, and announces the conclusion of some league between the Pope and his most Christian Majesty, it having been hinted, but not affirmed to me, that the stipulation has taken place, the terms apparently being that in case the Emperor will not agree to an adjustment with his most Christian Majesty, the Pope will declare himself the ally of France; but as it is the duty of a good pastor to do to his utmost first of all to reconcile the sovereigns, his Holiness will not fail to exert himself to that effect; and as the Emperor persists in unreasonable demands, and the Pope knowing that the King of France has never shunned such as are reasonable, his Holiness is therefore more justified before the world in attacking his Imperial Majesty; wherefore he induced the Cardinal of Lorraine to perform the office he did in consistory, to demonstrate to everybody his King's goodwill. But on the other hand, it being known here that all the proceedings of his Holiness tend towards another object than that of waging war, it is supposed that the Pope, seeing his affairs in a different state to what they were when he sent Rucellai hither, chose thus to put an end, less harshly, to this scheme, without entirely detaching himself, nor yet binding himself more than moderately (nè manco stringendosi più che tauto); so I am assured that the King is dissatisfied with him.*

In the meanwhile they are expecting the Cardinal of Lorraine, and in addition to what I wrote about the negotiation with the Duke of Ferrara, his Excellency, in return for what he wished to obtain from the King, promised to lend him one million and two hundred thousand ducats.

Blois, 5th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 6.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

341. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Several advices have been received here of plots made by the French on five or six of these frontiers, by means of prisoners, so should

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this be verified the exchange of prisoners, in the form mentioned by me, will, it is supposed, not be effected. The lords of these provinces and the deputies of the towns who were convoked by the King of England for the 15th instant in the site of his residence (*dove fosse la persona di S. M. R.*), commence coming hither, comprehending that by that time he will not be in Antwerp, where all the strangers who had begun making sundry preparations in honour of his Majesty have now suspended them.

I heard to-day from a person of quality in the Emperor's court that his Majesty is suffering more from anger than from gout, and that during the last few days the King of England does not dare suggest to him the despatch of any business, however important it may be, *seeing himself scowled on, and that certain angry and rather pungent words were addressed to him* (vedendo esser guardato con torto occhio, et dettogli in colera alcune parole alquanto pungenti). *My informant added that he perceived the ministers of the Emperor and of the King to be so harassed, and their vassals in such despair, that many of them went about saying that if the Emperor thought to keep them in suspense for the future, as he has done for some time past, he will find himself deceived, as they will take the decisions relating to their affairs from the King* (perchè vorranno pigliar l'espeditioni dal Re), *who will be compelled to give them, not choosing to lose the goodwill of his subjects; and from the words of Ruy Gomez, Gonzalo Perez, and many others of King Philip's ministers, it is evident that they greatly regret the Emperor's delay in affixing his signature, as nothing else remains for him to do, they being of opinion that he ought to take this final step.*

By advices received from Spain it is necessary to appoint three viceroys for the kingdoms of Valencia, Catalonia, and Aragon, from which last province the father-in-law of Don Ruy Gomez made his escape owing to the hatred borne him by the people, nor will the other two retain their posts. Three of King Philip's "*maggior domos*" and other Spanish noblemen are canvassing those governments, and although since many days Queen Maria has requested the Emperor either to fill up the vacancies himself, or to authorize the King to do so, he nevertheless comes to no decision.

Sir Philip Hoby will depart to-morrow for England, and he told me that when taking leave of the King, his Majesty commissioned him to assure the Queen his consort, that as soon as he can he will comply with the general wish that he should go in person to see her; and that if he delays rather longer than he expected, owing to the variety of important business in these provinces, by so much the more expeditiously shall he travel towards her, as he will perform the journey postwise, and without taking with him any of his councillors.

Brussels, 6th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

1556.

Jan. 7.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

342. CARDINAL POLE to CARDINAL MORONE.

Does not write so frequently to Morone, referring himself to his agents, who are commissioned always to acquaint him with whatever he writes to them about current events in England. Morone will have heard that, in lieu of the deceased Chancellor, their Majesties have appointed the Archbishop of York [Nicholas Heath, appointed 1st January 1556], a person Catholic, lettered, and endowed with many other good qualities; so all people of worth in England are much comforted by this, and from his past conduct the best is hoped from him; his integrity and ability having been proved during his government of Wales when Bishop of Worcester, he being then President of the Council of that province; and of his zeal for the religion he gave testimony in the time of Edward, having been imprisoned on account of the mystery of the Eucharist (*per causa de i Sacramenti*). Mentions this to Morone, that he may suggest to the Pope to write him a brief expressing his satisfaction at this appointment, and the sure hope of its proving to the service and honour of God in England. The Convocation of prelates is still sitting, and may last the whole of the present month, during which interval Pole hopes that the Papal brief concerning it will arrive. The late events at Rome have caused them great uneasiness; and the malignants still take occasion thence to spread very scandalous reports; so the Queen hopes that they may have more and more proof daily of the Pope's good and pacific mind, and may God grant him quiet and convenience to carry into effect his holy projects about reform. They are still hoping for the King's return.

London, 7th January 1556.

Autograph postscript.—The message from the Pope delivered by the Bishop of St. Asaph, about continuing assiduously the negotiation for the peace, arrived very opportunely, as it serves to contradict the suspicions and reports which had been circulated in England by the malignants; and therefore the more willingly did he send the Abbot of San Saluto [to Brussels], most especially knowing that they had already commenced treating the exchange of prisoners, which seems to indicate a disposition towards peace.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

343. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Pope has not only concluded a league with the King of France, but has written the agreement with his own hand (ma che la capitulatione è scritta di sua propria mano) and sent it to his Majesty, but as the King keeps it secretly having communicated it solely to the members of his privy council, no detail can be heard, save that it took place after the arrival at Rome of the Cardinal of Lorraine. At my last audience the King told me that the*

* By the contemporary letter-book (*penes me*, p. 64) of Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at the court of Paul IV., it appears that the Cardinal of Lorraine arrived at Rome on the 21st November 1555.

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Pope, besides suggesting to the said Cardinal, that as he knew his office, he should not fail to find some mode of adjustment between these two princes, and that he, the Pope, would write about this to Cardinal Pole in England; it being subsequently heard that his Holiness did write energetically (*con gagliarda forma*), to evince his wish that some adjustment should take place, announcing some intention of inducing his most Christian Majesty to restore certain Imperial places taken by him. This has caused great displeasure here, the King considering it a proceeding not only contrary to the execution of the league, but very adverse to his interests; and although at the interview held with the French before Christmas, the Imperialists seemed very desirous of coming to an adjustment, yet nevertheless, at this last conference, they appeared to have changed greatly. Amongst other things said by them was this, that as the Queen of England and Cardinal Pole had toiled so greatly for this business, should any adjustment ensue, it would be well for them also to take part in it; which has almost convinced his most Christian Majesty that the Imperialists desire the intervention of England, not for the sake of the adjustment, but because, having heard of the office performed by the Pope with Cardinal Pole, they hope thus to benefit themselves, and have therefore raised their tone; but after receipt of the next advices from the conference, some sounder opinion of its result may be formed.

His most Christian Majesty has given the Duke d'Arschot [Philippe de Cröy] and Count Mansfeldt, who are his prisoners, to the Constable, so that either by exchange, or through the ransom put upon them, his Excellency may be better enabled to recover his son, the cost of whose redemption will, it is said, be 50,000 francs, but as yet there is no decision.

Blois, 8th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pusini.*]

Jan. 8.

344. EMBASSY IN ENGLAND.

Parti Comuni
Consiglio X.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta.

Vol. 22, p. 85.^{to}

That of the moneys destined for Ambassadors, 300 ducats be given to the agents of the nobleman Ser Zuan Michiel, ambassador in England, on account of expenses, of which he must show the items, being bound to do so, as of the other moneys received for similar purposes.

Ayes, 19. Noes, 2. Neutral, 0.

Exijt Ser Melchior Michael de add.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9.

345. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

MS. St. Mark's
Library.
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

Having this morning returned [to Greenwich] from London, where he had been on account of the Synod, the Regent Figueroa delivered to him the King's letter dated the 1st (sic) [4th?], from which, and from Figueroa's verbal statement, he heard, much to his satisfaction, of the King's goodwill towards the peace, of which although he could never doubt, knowing his Majesty's excellent

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nature and zeal for the common weal,—having also been informed lately by the Abbot of San Saluto (whom he sent express to urge this business to the King and the Emperor, and who wrote an account to him) of the gracious reception he had from the King,—yet was he nevertheless again greatly rejoiced to hear the like from the King's own letters, and from the writings exhibited to him by the Regent, in the presence of the Queen, her Majesty being pleased to translate the whole to him. Commends the mode employed for resuming the negotiation, in conformity with what was observed at the Congress of Marek, as the most honourable for all parties; and however much Pole may do in this matter, he is bound to do much more, provided there be any hope of success, especially as he knows such to be the intention of the Pope, about whom he can say nothing more until receipt of the reply which is expected.

Prays the King at length to comfort the Queen and all his most faithful subjects by his return, which is so much desired.

Greenwich, 9th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

346. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Has heard that the instructions about the peace, sent through the Abbot of San Saluto to the Queen and Cardinal of England, purport that the Emperor and the King consent to her treating as of herself, that the state of Milan be given to the second son of the King of France, and that the Duke of Savoy be restored to his own, on condition of a marriage contract between the said second son and one of the daughters of the King of the Romans, he receiving all the revenues of the Milanese, and holding possession of all the fortresses until the birth of a son, who is then to be Duke of Milan, thus separating it from the French crown, and simultaneously the Duke of Savoy is to be reinstated, leaving the principal fortresses in the hands of his most Christian Majesty until the Emperor and King Philip restore his own to the Duke of Milan. With regard to the other disputes, the Queen was to give firm hope of their adjustment, *as provided the crowns found means to arrange their own affairs, no difficulty would be raised about those of the confederates; but the Emperor was too hard about the affairs of the Duke of Savoy, proposing terms which could never be accepted, after the most Christian King had offered to reinstate his Excellency entirely (liberamente), provided their Majesties give France the Milanese. The Duke, therefore, weary of such protracted suspense, has drawn up a writing for presentation to the Emperor and the King of England, requesting them to give him the said state of Milan or some other in Italy, together with such a wife as they shall think fit; or else that they concede him permission to adjust his affairs with his most Christian Majesty, as he does not choose any longer to grow old in poverty, as at present. Of late, owing to advice given him by a Prince and other wise statesmen in Italy, his Excellency has conceived an idea that the attainment of his wishes might be effected by means of your Serenity, and perhaps through the Pope.*

1556.

A gentleman has arrived here from the Cardinal of Burgos, with news of the Pope's stir (*motti*) against the Count di Bagno, and of the assistance rendered to the latter by the Duke of Florence, which has greatly displeased the majority of this Court, *it seeming to everybody that he has acted imprudently in this matter, both for his own interests, and those of their Majesties here; as he will not only have withdrawn the Pope from his true and apparent wish to bring about the peace* (da quel vero e apparente desiderio di far succeder la pace), *but will have given him an opportunity for declaring himself in favour of war sooner perhaps than he had intended.*

Brussels, 10th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 11.

Original
Letter Book,
penes me,
Letter No. 41,
pp. 139-142.

347. BERNARDO NAVAGERO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On Sunday, after chapel, the Signor Giuliano Cesarini was imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo, charged with being an accomplice in the flight of Donna Giovanna d'Aragona; and on that same day the Pope desired the Cardinal "Camerlengo" not to give the rest of the dower (which is said to amount to 20,000 crowns) to his niece the Lady Felice, the wife of Marc' Antonio Colonna. His Holiness had a guard placed at the house of Camillo Colonna, and sent a monitory to Marc' Antonio, desiring him to come and present himself to his Holiness under penalty of rebellion.

Next morning, the day of the Epiphany, the Cardinals having assembled to go to chapel, the Pope held a congregation, at which he announced the appointment of the Count of Montorio as captain-general. This congregation, having been summoned so unusually, without previous intimation, and on a day of solemnity, after the arrest of so great a baron as the Signor Giuliano, was much talked of all over Rome, until the cause of it transpired and suspicion increased, because his Holiness after having arranged to hear mass in St. Peter's as usual, did not go, but had mass sung in the chapel above [the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican], which he entered with a more numerous guard than usual.

The corporal of the gate of San Lorenzo has been hanged for allowing the Lady Donna Giovanna to pass through it.

On Tuesday evening the Imperial ambassador and Don Garcilasso de la Vega went to the Pope to ask his decision about many demands made heretofore by Don Garcilasso, which his Holiness perceiving, turned the conversation to the affairs of Germany and Hungary, saying he was troubled because the Lutherans increased in Germany, and that on the other hand it was said the Turks would invade Transylvania.

The Emperor's ambassador [Don Fernando Ruiz de Castro, Marquis de Sarria], availing himself of this opportunity, said, "Holy Father, my Princes, the Emperor and the King of England, who are those who defend the religion against the infidels and the heretics, ought indeed to obtain some act of grace from your Holi-

1556.

ness, as for instance that you should restore the territory of the Lord Marc' Antonio Colonna."

The Pope did not allow him to proceed further, and in a great rage reproached the Emperor and the King of England bitterly, saying that they chose to interfere in what did not concern them; that these individuals were his vassals, that he chose to punish them at his pleasure; that he was a free Prince, and chose to be acknowledged as such by all men, and that he would not grant a single one of their demands, inveighing against the Colonna family, which had always been hostile to the Popes, and saying that he remembered what was done of yore to Boniface by Sciarra Colonna [in 1303]. To this the ambassador rejoined in a haughtier tone than hitherto, that he was compelled to obtain a positive reply from his Holiness, in order to know how to regulate himself, as until now each of their sovereigns and they themselves had received fair words, but very much at variance with the deeds witnessed by them daily. This having increased the Pope's suspicion, he next morning desired the Count of Montorio to despatch nine captains, to whom on the morrow five others were added, to raise some 3,000 infantry in Città di Castello, Perugia, Viterbo, and Tivoli.

Rome, 11th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

348. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A courier arrived from Spain yesterday with news of the death of Don Luis, the brother of the King of Portugal, on which account the King of England having gone into mourning, and in order to perform the obsequies, will delay his journey to Antwerp four or five days beyond the time appointed.

Don Diego de Azevedo, the King's maggiordomo, who was in England with the Queen, is also come, and in her name has urged the King as strongly as words can express to return thither; so on that same day his Majesty sent for Sir John Masone, her ambassador, and charged him to assure her that he would go as soon as possible, which it is said he will do, not only to comply with the wish of his consort,—*who, being naturally passionate, might become enraged were his return any longer delayed,**—but also to satisfy and obey the Emperor, who is more eager than ever for him to return, especially in these times.

Brussels, 12th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher, the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 12.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

349. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 8th an express arrived from Rome sent by the Cardinal of Lorraine; and the Constable immediately detained all the private letters (an unusual proceeding at this court), and they are still in his possession.

* Che per esser di sdegnosa natura potria, menando più in lungo l'andata, alterarsi.

1556.

The Cardinal, on hearing of the King's disapproval of what he negotiated with the Duke of Ferrara, although the Duke had again informed him he would accept any terms his Majesty pleased, did not settle anything further without fresh order.

As the Pope has showed himself warmer than hitherto in favour of the League, and also evinced a wish for the negotiation with the aforesaid Duke to be concluded, a courier was despatched to the Cardinal.

The conference to have been held on the 7th, having been postponed until the 10th, a message was sent to the Admiral, desiring him no longer to entertain negotiations either for truce or peace, but solely for an exchange of prisoners, which if not concluded, the conference to be dissolved. Before this resolve was formed by the King, there were great disputes between the Constable and the Duke de Guise, as for several days the Constable has done his utmost to prevent the ratification of the League [with the Pope] and to settle the Truce [with the Imperialists]; the Duke de Guise, on the contrary, being in favour of the League, and strongly supported by the Queen [Catherine de' Medici] for the affairs of Tuscany; and by Madame de Valentinois, owing to her connexion with the Guise family; whilst the Guises, who seemed at first confounded (it appearing to them that the honour of the Cardinal of Lorraine was at stake), do not appear pleased with the arrangement. The Pope is certainly leagued (& anchor lei collegata), and will act as he has promised the King; his most Christian Majesty intending, with his own money, to avail himself of such facilities as the Papal States can afford, rather than to hope that of himself his Holiness can do much. The first undertaking will probably be that of Tuscany, for which purpose the Cardinal of Lorraine took with him securities (assegnamenti) for 64,000 crowns on the saltworks in Normandy, to pay the interest on 400,000 crowns offered by the Florentine outlaws (fuorusciti) to the King, at the rate of 16 per cent. interest, as paid at Lyons; in addition to which, they offer him a loan of another 200,000 crowns for two years, without interest, on condition of their being expended solely for the Florentine expedition.

Blois, 12th January 1556.

[Italian, in cipher; deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.]

Jan. 13.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

350. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Signory will have heard from Brussels the reply with which the Abbot of San Saluto was sent hither, where he has not yet arrived, having been detained during the last eight days by contrary winds. All that I have elicited from Cardinal Pole is that the Emperor and King Philip have given him fair words; however, he is anxiously expecting the Abbot, it being evident from his language and countenance that he is full of good hope; he having also received an express from France yesterday, with letters dated the 4th, which can but relate to this negotiation. It seems to me that in France they consider the truce settled, and that it will be ratified at the meeting of the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners,

1556.

about which all we know here is that the Queen has been in favour of it. I have read a letter written at Calais on the 8th instant by the Abbot [Parpaglia] to a friend here, commissioning him to inform the French ambassador that should the business in course of negotiation not attain the desired result, it will not be from lack of goodwill. This seems ambiguous, and may be understood either to warrant fair hopes, or to imply, on the contrary, that negotiation of any sort is broken off and hopeless; so until the issue become manifest we await with anxiety the Abbot's arrival.

Francesco Piamontese, the Piedmontese courier, says he went to Portugal to acquaint the King with the Emperor's renunciation to his most serene son of the states of Flanders and Burgundy, and of the Grand Mastership of the Fleece, which is a dependency of those realms, inviting him, as he did many Spanish grandees, according to the formula and custom of the Order, of which they are knights, to attend the ceremony to be performed at Antwerp. The King of Portugal is sending his reply by a courier on board a ship of his own, which has not yet appeared, he expecting it to arrive before the Queen's messenger.

The mariners on leave in London have been desired to rejoin their ships, to drop down to the sea, and to await the coming of the most Serene King; a sign that now it will not be much longer delayed.

London, 13th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

351. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The order given by the King to the Cardinal of Lorraine to conclude the league with his Holiness and the Duke of Ferrara, is confirmed. Am assured that no further resolve will be formed until after receipt of the Cardinal's reply, announcing that the stipulation has been already made. It was hinted to me that the Cardinal would negotiate with your Serenity, but I understand he has not yet received any such commission.

The conference is supposed to be at an end, without any settlement, as the French would no longer discuss the truce; neither would the Imperialists ratify what had been agreed to (*concordato*) heretofore about the prisoners; though the Admiral is not yet heard to have left his post.

Blois, 14th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 15.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

352. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The two commissioners sent by the Emperor to Cambrai write that after settling the affair of the prisoners, they again held long conferences about the peace or truce, and that the French proposed, as it was impossible now to stipulate a peace, honourable and advantageous for both their Majesties, the most Christian King was willing,

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each side holding what they possess, to make a good truce for ten, seven, or three years; to which they as of themselves replied, that if the King of England, to whom the Emperor was about to renounce all his states, had consented to a suspension of hostilities for two months or a year, he did so solely for the sake of being better able again to treat the peace, to which suspension his Imperial Majesty would not indeed of his own free will have consented. The French commissioners showed that their King would not be averse to this suspension; and both parties took time to write to their princes. The Emperor and King Philip have determined to appoint two other commissioners to negotiate this matter with the French in the name of the King of England, the persons thus elected being the Doctors Fisinach (*sic*), a native of these provinces, and Schizzo, the Cremonese, Regent of Milan, with whom they are sending the secretary Bave, and they will depart to-morrow.

I have heard, on good authority, that when the King of England imparted this resolve to the Duke of Savoy, his Excellency remained so confused and dumbfounded that, although the King sought to comfort him in the kindest terms and full of hope, he for a long while gave him no answer, *and then told him, in short, that he now knew there was no longer any hope for him, not even in his Majesty, in like manner as he had despaired of receiving from the Emperor that compensation for the loss of his state which for so long a while they had constantly promised him*; whereupon the King, after reiterating similar promises, and vowing that when in his power he would prove by deeds the love he bore him, *went so far as to say that nothing but the need in which he saw his territories in every direction, led him to consent to the truce, in order that he might provide better for his affairs hereafter*. The Duke then, after repeating a variety of things about his wretched condition, prayed King Philip not to settle anything with the French so immediately, as he could always stipulate the suspension of hostilities, or the truce, on the terms proposed by them, and to wait to hear, in the first place, what could be hoped through the Queen of England, in reply to what was conveyed to her by the Abbot of San Saluto, as her Majesty, being his loving kinswoman, and Cardinal Pole his cordial friend, and the Abbot as his good vassal,* they might, in the conditions made, insert something to his advantage. King Philip said that he was content, but could not fail sending these commissioners at once, to keep the negotiation alive until the arrival of the Queen's reply, which is to settle it.

My informant also assured me that he knew the King of England had said he would not allow anything to be determined without the knowledge of his consort, and that indeed his object was, through her medium, not only to make some adjustment with greater advantage, *but also because, even if nothing be settled, she to a certain extent becomes more interested in this matter with the King her husband against the most Christian King* (ma anche non si con-

* As already mentioned, Vincenzo Parpaglia, Abbot of San Salvatore, was by birth a Piedmontese.

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cludendo, essa ad un certo modo venghi ad interessarsi più col Re suo marito in questo fatto contra il Re Christianissimo).

Last evening the Nuncio received letters from Cardinal Caraffa and the Count of Montorio, enjoining him in the Pope's name to tell the Emperor and the King of England that, compelled by justice and the dignity of the Holy Apostolic See, he has raised troops, and shall continue doing so, to punish the Count da Bagno, and check the audacity of the Duke of Florence, on account of his mode of proceeding in favour of the said Count; the Nuncio being also charged earnestly to assure the Emperor and the King that he is well disposed towards them, and will continue so unless they give him cause to change. The Nuncio has already performed this office with the King, who spoke him fair, in general terms, but he has not yet obtained audience of the Emperor. Don Ferrante di Sanguini, who has arrived here, expresses himself in the same terms as the Nuncio, and tells the chief personages of this court that, as the official and servant of both their Majesties, he assures them that the Pope, from his natural temperament rather than from any evil intention towards their Majesties, talks and acts as known to everybody, but that he (Sanguini) would pledge his life that unless their Majesties' ministers give his Holiness cause, he will not league with the King of France; nor did he say this because he is the Pope's kinsman, but solely in order to tell the truth. *Many personages at these two courts say that should any truce be made, the Emperor will give the Duke of Florence openly whatever military assistance he can against the Pope.*

The Emperor has risen from his bed, and said he will soon sign the acts of renunciation of the kingdoms of Spain and Sicily.

Brussels, 15th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 16.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

353. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

To-day the Emperor resigned the kingdoms of Spain and Sicily to his most Serene son, in his own chamber in the villa (*casino*). His Majesty was on a lofty chair, and the King of England on a lower one, opposite to him. On the Emperor's right hand was Queen Eleanor, and on his left Queen Maria; behind the King stood the Bishop of Arras and the secretaries Erasso and Vargas, with some fifty lords and gentlemen of the two courts, cap in hand.

For the space of an hour the Emperor, feeble and suffering from illness, spoke thus, saying first of all that he returned thanks to God for being in a state to discharge the obligation incurred by him to his Divine Majesty, and also to his vassals, he having vowed to God that when able to effect these acts of renunciation to his subjects he would do so readily, as having no longer bodily strength he would no longer leave them without that unremitting rule which they desired, and that he knew that many persons had murmured greatly because his tardy mode of proceeding had unduly protracted

1556.

this matter ; but that in pursuance of his system he had chosen on this occasion likewise to be blamed for dilatoriness, rather than do anything inconsiderate in haste ; and putting his hand to his heart, he swore that so long back as after his victories over the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, he determined to make these acts of renunciation (*pensò di far queste renuntie*), and that a year and a half ago in the field at Renti, when a battle with the King of France was expected, nothing interested him more than to give orders for the removal of the casket (*cassetta*) containing these acts of renunciation (*esse renuntie*) and other most important writings, because had the battle taken place, and had he unfortunately lost it, as he might have done, his forces being so very inferior in number to those of the King, he must of necessity either lose his life or be made prisoner, as in no other way did he purpose saving himself. Had he been killed, his son and heir would have succeeded to all his States ; if taken prisoner, he did not choose that he should have the trouble of ransoming him as a sovereign, but merely as a gentleman who was his father. He then continued that he was naturally so desirous of being freed from having the care of vassals, that if the first-born of the King of the Romans, after his remaining six years childless, had not been a female, he would never have married, and would have left him successor to all his States ; and he narrated one by one all his voyages and expeditions made by him in the whole course of his life, as he did heretofore when resigning these provinces, showing that necessity rather than choice had induced him to undertake them. He then recommended to the King the brave and faithful vassals whom he made over to him, exhorting him to do them justice, and reward them according to their merits ; and in conclusion he presented to him with his own hand his sealed will and his own gold seal, telling him to break the said seal, because as it had never again sealed any other deed for so long a while, since he had the will drawn up at Augsburg, so did he not wish it ever to legalize any document hereafter ; telling him besides that he made the renunciation to him of everything absolutely, as if he had gone to a better world, but that he indeed prayed him, during his (the Emperor's) life, to do him the pleasure to execute all that he had written in this will ; at which point he shed no few tears. He then had placed before him the written act of renunciation of the kingdoms of Castille, Leon, and other dependencies, and of the Indies, and after he had signed it the King went to kiss his Imperial Majesty's hand. After this, he did the like by the act renouncing the kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, to which having in like manner put his signature, the King again kissed his hand. His Imperial Majesty said besides the following precise words, "It merely remains for me to leave you Sicily"* (*non resta anchor ch' io vi lasci la Sicilia*), which he uttered for an ex-

* "On the 16th of January 1556, three days before this letter was written, the Emperor signed and sealed the act of abdication of his Sicilian and Spanish kingdoms and their dependencies in Africa and the New World." (See Stirling, *Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V.*, p. 12, ed. 1853.)

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press purpose, there being present some Sicilians, who do not admit the claims of the Aragonese to have them for their dependants; and when the Emperor had signed this act, the King kissed his hand for the third time.

His Imperial Majesty next turned to the Spanish and Sicilian lords who had been present as witnesses, telling them to go and kiss the King's hand, as their sole master, which they did immediately. He then moreover told these gentlemen that he had reserved nothing for himself but the Empire, which he would endeavour to rule with the same good-will as he had always done, and that had it been the will of God that the Germans should have known him better, they would be in better condition than they are (*et che fosse stato in piacer di Dio, che quei populi l'havessero meglio conosciuto, che in miglior termine sariano che non sono*). And these acts of renunciation being thus despatched, and having dismissed the Queens and the other bystanders, he remained alone with the King, and from what has been said in secret by one of his Imperial Majesty's chamberlains, he took out of a little drawer (*casselletta*) certain small papers (*alcune piccole carte*), supposed to be memorials, and after reading them one by one he tore them up. The Bishop of Arras, having been asked whether, as in these acts of renunciation, the Emperor had not mentioned Burgundy, he meant to renounce it or not, replied that, although he had given the King the Mastership of the "Fleece," he nevertheless reserved for himself the State of Burgundy.

The King of Spain has at this hour despatched a gentleman to England to the Queen his consort to give her notice of the renunciation of the aforesaid realms, and with congratulations on her being able for the future to style herself the Queen of many and great crowns, and on her being no less their mistress than of her own crown of England; again assuring her that on his return from Antwerp (whither he departs to-morrow) he will remain a few days with the Emperor, and then go to her speedily.

I send your Serenity the list of all the personages rewarded by the Emperor in council (*nella consulta*), he having conferred these donations before making the renunciations. He did not concede the archbishopric of Valencia to the Bishop of Arras, who had asked it very earnestly, requesting the transfer of his own see to his brother the Abbot of Taverny. Many people are surprised at this, but I have heard some persons say that the Bishop of Cambrai being dangerously ill, the Bishop of Arras has been informed of the King's intention to give him that see. The pensions assigned to cardinals and other dependants of their Majesties at Rome, have not been communicated in detail to their agents, the Emperor and the King choosing the first news of these donations to be given by the ambassador in Rome. The "company" of fifty men-at-arms, held heretofore by the Marquis of Marignano, has been conceded to Signor Gio. Batt. Gastaldo, according to his request.

Brussels, 16th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

1556.

Jan. 17.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

354. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The conference was dissolved without any decision, and subsequently the Admiral returned to his government of Picardy. Before his departure the Imperialists did their utmost to prolong it; and as the Admiral would not consent by order of his King, the Imperialists protested that the Emperor would not have failed doing his utmost to find some fair mode of adjustment. Now the conversation of everybody relates solely to war, and although nothing will be decided until news arrive of the stipulation, it is almost certain that the Duke de Guise will go to Italy as his most Christian Majesty's lieutenant, *it being said that the Duke of Ferrara, General of the League, will not quit his own territory.*

The King departs to-morrow for Chambord (*Sciamburgh*), partly to let the palace here be cleansed, and in part also to escape the court crowd (*la moltitudine della corte*), in order more conveniently to consult with his chief treasurers about pecuniary supply, which will be provided to the greatest possible amount; and after remaining six days there his Majesty will return hither.

The present packet which the King is sending to his ambassador with your Serenity,* will be conveyed by a gentleman who is going to Constantinople, and who will urge the putting to sea of the Turkish fleet as soon as possible, *it being moreover thought that he will communicate to the Sultan the negotiation of the League, and perhaps its stipulation, should it be effected before his departure from Italy, and likewise the above-mentioned dissolution of the conference.*

The Marquis Albert has left the court for Germany to be present at the Diet, which his most Christian Majesty is performing every sort of office with the Imperial Princes to obtain. On his departure he received presents from the King and Queen, the whole court doing him the utmost honour, and he assured his Majesty of his devotion.

Blois, 17th January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 17.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

355. CARDINAL POLE to HENRY II., KING of FRANCE.

The Pope having again ordered him earnestly to urge the affair of the peace, Pole lately sent to the Emperor and his son, the Abbot of San Saluto, to whom their Majesties replied, expressing their good disposition towards the matter itself, and the mediators. For this same cause is now sending to King Henry the bearer of this letter, who is his gentleman, that he may let him know his belief that his Majesty is equally well disposed, and that as for Pole himself he will always be most ready to take any trouble and toil for the service of one side and the other, and for the quiet and public benefit of Christendom. Pole has always found, and continues to find, the same mind and readiness on the part of the Queen to do, through her Ministers, whatever may be required for this end; so

* Bishop of Lodève. (See Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, Index.)

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they will wait to hear what King Henry shall be pleased to let them know with regard to his will and disposition. Pole has always been of opinion that Divine Providence ordained that the same means, namely, the Vicar of God and Queen Mary, whom he employed for the reconciliation of England, are to serve for the pacification of the King and the Emperor, and that they may conduce much to render any agreement between them more firm and durable.

London, 17th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

356. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The day before yesterday the King of Spain departed for Antwerp, where he made his entry yesterday, being received outside the town by the community with discharges of artillery, and within it several triumphal arches had been erected by the foreign merchants, all at small cost, save that of the Genoese, in which were some hollow iron balls full of powder as fireworks (*per far fuochi da dar piacere*), and on his Majesty's arrival at the gate, two of them being ignited exploded with such violence that seven or eight persons were killed, including one of the King's archers, one of his gentlemen, and several others of the town and some merchants being maimed; so his Majesty would not advance further, and made the whole court halt until he sent an order to the Genoese and to the other foreign guilds not to let off any more fireworks; and the "advices" say that had the King proceeded on his way nearer to the Genoese triumphal arch he would have run great risk of his life, as, to do him more honour, they had arranged, on his closer approach, to ignite the other fire-balls, in which case he and his retinue would have been in yet greater danger.

None of the ambassadors accredited to the Emperor accompanied the King to Antwerp, save those from Florence and Mantua, the one by express order from his master, the other with the hope that, should the King obtain any money, he may pay the 36,000 crowns so often promised to Don Ferrante on account of his credit. Having taken the opinion of M. de la Chaux, the most intimate of the Emperor's chamberlains, and of other persons of the Imperial Court, I did not go, although I had heard a contrary wish expressed by some of the King's attendants; but as the Emperor reserves the imperial dignity, and I am accredited to him, I remained with his Majesty. An honourable gentleman has told me that during the whole of yesterday the Emperor seemed more cheerful than for a long while, saying several times that he thanked God, who, after the renunciation of all his States, caused him to experience that mental repose which he had indeed hoped for, notwithstanding his performance of so great an act (*dicendo più volte che ringraziava Dio, che li faceva provar quel riposo d'animo dapoi rinuntiati tutti i Stati, che già havea sperato di havere, se ben faceva sì grande effetto*); and that he said several jocose things to his cham-

1556.

berlains, asking how they would address him for the future, coming to the following details, that he wished them to say whether they would henceforth style him either your grace or your lordship (*o vostra mercè o vostra signoria*), leaving aside the dignity of Emperor, and he came to the conclusion that he was content to be called Don Carlos of Austria.

It is said that several gentlemen will be despatched to various Princes to give them notice of these renunciations in the name of the Emperor and the King, as soon as his Imperial Majesty shall have signed the great number of letters addressed to his vassals, which he has not yet transmitted, his hand being crippled with gout; and that the King will form a Council of State, Don Bernardino de Mendoza being proposed as its president; and some say that were not the King of opinion that Don Ferrante [Gonzaga] would decline this post, he would doubtless have sent for his Excellency and given him greater authority and salary than to anyone else on whom the choice may fall. The Bishop of Arras is named President of the Council of Justice, but the Castilians in the King's court are much opposed to him. Although there are 20 vacancies in the Order of the "Fleece," the number of whose knights is limited to 50, the King will not fill them all, and besides those already mentioned by me, the Duke of Mantua and the Lord Marc' Antonio Colonna are under consideration. Much has been said about sending this Order to the Duke of Cleves, but his Excellency having been already sounded, showed adroitly that he did not wish for it. The report continues of a suspension of hostilities between their Majesties and France, or else a truce for two or three years, as understood chiefly through words uttered last evening by King Philip's confessor.

Brussels, 19th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl.x.

357. CARDINAL POLE to the CONSTABLE of FRANCE.

Thanks him heartily for the three safe-conducts sent through the French Ambassador in England, who said that Montmorency having done this to oblige him, contrary to his first intention, requested Pole not to ask him for any more, as the King had determined not to grant them, and the more so as though he had conceded many, the one demanded by Signor Benedetto was refused him. Pole does not comprehend the causes of the difficulty made in this matter, though he would not be surprised at exceptions made in certain cases, but in others the concession might be made easily. Be this as it may, he has to thank him for these safe-conducts, by so much the more as it was the less easy to obtain them, and yet more would he have to thank him if by his means the causes for being obliged to demand similar favours were removed, by making that peace of which Christendom has so much need. Is convinced that the Constable continues to exert himself to this end with his usual goodwill, but notwithstanding his very great authority with the most Christian King, the desired result has not yet been obtained. It now, however, appears that God of his mercy

1556.

remits this punishment of war, the power of making peace having passed into the hands of those who have never injured each other personally, as the Emperor has unexpectedly left the entire burden of matters relating to war and peace to the King his son, thus demonstrating to Christendom that he is so averse to war that not finding means to make a general peace with man, he has determined to make it for himself in particular, and enjoy it more commodiously with God. And if similarity of disposition, manners, and qualities, are usually a powerful and efficacious means for conciliating friendship and love, and as this similarity exists between King Henry and King Philip, according to the opinion of many who have known them both, it seems that there is just cause for fair hopes of peace, most especially with such mediators as the Pope and Queen Mary, who have no other end in view than the honour of God, and the public and private weal of both parties; though Pole knows not how it is that the longer this negotiation for peace continues, the more does the war seem to increase. With regard to himself, Pole had been enjoined by three pontiffs to endeavour to make a peace, and especially by the present Pope, as through the continuance of the war he perceives the greater increase of every disorder, and of the misery and ruin of Christendom, which his Holiness cannot but greatly lament. For the present Pole does not see what else he can do but pray God for the removal of so great a scourge, and in the meanwhile watch for every opportunity for again proposing the peace; this present resolve of the Emperor seeming to him one that should induce the most Christian King likewise to give some notable mark that his mind is no less pious, pacific, and generous, as Pole hopes, by reason of the great virtue with which God has endowed the King, and he is certain that the Constable will always employ his good offices for this purpose.

Greenwich, 20th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 21.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

358. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

The Abbot of San Saluto has not yet arrived, the contrary wind having detained him at Calais during the last 16 days, much to his misfortune and to the surprise of everybody. On the first day of his arrival there he wrote to Cardinal Pole how very anxious he was to be with his right reverend lordship speedily. Some persons were of opinion that he has gone from Calais into France, most especially as several persons are known to have attempted the passage, which they accomplished without danger. Cardinal Pole nevertheless says plainly that should the Abbot have taken this step he must have done so from his own fancy, as according to the order given him he was first of all to return hither, and his right reverend lordship expects him from hour to hour, knowing that there are upwards of 100 persons, together with the ordinary posts from Rome, all detained at Calais by the same impediment. The wind, although it has abated during the last two days, is still contrary.

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Last week some of the Lords of the Council here occupied themselves about a matter of which, although it will perhaps appear ridiculous and unimportant to your Serenity, as it did to us likewise, yet as they viewed it in a different light, I will not omit to give account. So far as I can understand, in many places in the city of London and throughout the kingdom, a printed paper was circulated and published, urging the people to rebel, giving them to understand that King Edward was still alive and well, and in France, awaiting some demonstration in his favour to enable him to come and recover his crown, and so forth. To ascertain the origin of these things, they ordered the arrest in the country of the same rogue who last year, after having been publicly whipped, had his ears cropped for personating King Edward; and now they have had him and some other persons of greater consequence brought hither prisoners to the Tower for close examination, which is being done, in expectation of thus discovering the ring-leaders, whom the Lords of the Council suspect of, being instigated by method rather than by madness.

London, 21st January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 23.
Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

359. GIACOMO SORANZO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SENATE.

A gentleman has been sent by the Admiral to the King to let him know that the Imperial Commissioners, his colleagues at the conference, had again recalled him concerning the affair of the prisoners, so he was leaving St. Quentin.* *This has surprised everybody, it being considered almost certain that this move (retacamento) is not so much on account of the prisoners as for the sake of renewing the negotiation for the truce, it being known that the Constable wishes for it, much more than he does for the League. It is supposed that if he can conclude this truce, his authority will enable him to persuade the King to accept it, regardless of anything (senza rispetto alcuno), even should the said League have been stipulated, but including those who are parties to it (includendosi però li collegati).*

Blois, 23rd January 1556.

[*Italian, partly in cipher; the portions in italics deciphered by Signor Luigi Pasini.*]

Jan. 24?
MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.
No date of time.
Printed in vol. v.
pp. 16, 18,
"Epistolarum,
etc."

360. CARDINAL POLE to POPE PAUL IV.

On the day when the Abbot of San Saluto returned from Flanders,† received the papal brief, confirming him as Legate for the negotiation of the peace, as he had been under the two preceding pontiffs, to which office he was appointed immediately on the present Pope's accession. Nothing could be more opportune than this nomination to silence malignants (of whom in these times there

* By the Foreign Calendar, 1553-1558, pp. 207, 208, it is seen that the site of this conference was the Abbey of Vaucelles.

† The proximate date of this letter is thus ascertained, as the despatch of Giovanni Michiel, dated London, 27th January 1556, mentions the return of San Saluto on the 22nd.

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is abundance), who boasted that his Holiness meditated war. They will no longer know what to say, perceiving by the Pope's letters how earnestly he desires the conclusion of the peace. For an account of what has been done in this matter hitherto, to avoid wearying his Holiness, refers him to his (Pole's) letters to Cardinal Caraffa.

Together with this brief concerning the peace, received two others, one addressed to himself, the other to the English prelates, commending their exertions in assembling (*coegendâ*) the synod for the reformation of the English Church, and exhorting them all to attend with redoubled vigour to that work. This afforded additional encouragement to Pole, nor is it possible to say with how much veneration the prelates listened to the perusal of these briefs, showing their readiness to obey all the Pope's mandates.

There was also consigned to him the bull of his election to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Although in truth the weight of the charge at first alarmed him, so that he would not of his own accord have accepted it willingly, yet considering who the Princes were, at whose recommendation he was nominated to this post, by whom it was confirmed, and the persons who approved his election, as also those the cure of whose souls is confided to him and in his own country, which is naturally most dear to him, he dared not by the slightest word refuse this burden.

London, [24th January 1556. ?]

[*Latin, 36 lines.*]

Jan. 25.

MS. St. Mark's
Library,
Cod. xxiv. Cl. x.

361. CARDINAL POLE to KING PHILIP.

Has heard with great pleasure of the renunciation made to him by the Emperor of the realms of Spain, and his other remaining kingdoms. His Imperial Majesty has great reason to acknowledge the goodness of God, who, when the Emperor through indisposition could no longer conveniently bear so great a burden, granted him such a son, from whom he, his subjects, and the whole of Christendom may anticipate all comfort and benefit. The Abbot of San Saluto, who was detained a fortnight at Calais by contrary weather, has given him the King's letters and messages about the peace, and after communicating them to the Queen and the Regent Figueroa, it was thought well for Pole to send likewise to France, as he purposes doing, and will merely add that he has lately received a brief from the Pope, desiring him to pursue the negotiation vigorously. He has also received the bull of his election to the archbishopric of Canterbury, to which their Majesties were pleased to nominate him, the Pope having made the proposal in consistory, and although the weight of so great and to him so unusual a burden cannot but cause him much fear, nevertheless when he considers by what means it was laid on him, and whom he is to serve, he comforts himself with the hope that the Divine goodness will assist him to bear it.

With regard to what the King writes to him about the church of Trani, he remembers perfectly that the matter proceeded in the way written by his Majesty, and thus did Pole write at the time to Car-

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dinal Caraffa, and will do so again, reminding him of the fact, that he may speak about it to the Pope, who (Pole is very sure) will have every possible regard for the King, who may rest assured that the person [Bernardo Scotti], on whom that see has been conferred by his Holiness, is of rare virtue and goodness, and possesses every other quality becoming a worthy and good prelate, as Pole knows by reason of his long and close friendship with him, and on the present occasion he has thought it his duty to bear witness accordingly to his Majesty.

The Queen is quite consoled by the sure hope which the King has given her of his speedy return.

Greenwich, 25th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

362. FEDERICO BADOER, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the DOGE and SENATE.

Don Ruy Gomez has arrived from Antwerp, having been sent by the King of Spain to the Emperor. He remained upwards of three hours with his Imperial Majesty, and went back early this morning. He came to show the Emperor a form of agreement to be proposed to the French commissioners respecting the truce, one clause stipulating the reciprocal restitution of the acquisitions made in these parts, and that the other matters were to be reserved for the treaty of peace. The Emperor did not approve the agreement either in form or substance, and some say that as the King could not have sent the Emperor any person for whom he has greater esteem, so it would have been impossible for the King in his whole court to find a more ardent intercessor for this truce than Ruy Gomez.

King Philip's commissioners write to him that they will do their utmost to keep the negotiation for this truce on foot until they receive fresh orders, saying that the French seem more desirous of settling the affair of the prisoners than that of the truce. Notwithstanding, at Antwerp, amongst the merchants, and even by the courtiers, many wagers are staked that the truce will be concluded in the course of next month, whilst the Imperial courtiers show by words and deeds that it will not take place. On the day before yesterday the Emperor received from the King no fewer than 300 documents for his signature, to all of which he affixed it without reading them to oblige his son, who, according to the Imperialists here, accepted the Emperor's renunciation, not of his realms themselves, but of the toil of ruling them, and they say that King Philip on his departure told the Emperor earnestly that he wished all honour and glory to rest with his Imperial Majesty (*che voleva che di lei fosse ogni honore et gloria*).

Brussels, 26th January 1556.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 27.

Original
Despatch,
Venetian
Archives.

363. GIOVANNI MICHEL, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the DOGE and SENATE.

On the 22nd the Abbot of San Saluto arrived and went to the court [at Greenwich] with Cardinal Pole, who was here in London on account of the synod. After giving account of his negotiations

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at Brussels he remained two consecutive days in great debate with his right reverend lordship, whether he ought to proceed to France or not, on two sole accounts which have arisen lately of no slight consideration with regard to the honour of the Cardinal and of the most Serene Queen. The one was, as it is heard for certain, that at the conference held by the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners, matters were so far advanced that if by this time the decision has not been formed it cannot be long delayed; and to send the Abbot hence, repeating a useless act (*et rifar un atto frustatorio*), would consequently be a disreputable mission as the business is in course of negotiation elsewhere, besides the shame to which he would be put if compelled to return, from having met the news on the road. The other was, that the Lords of the Council represented to Cardinal Pole and complained to him that for the dignity and authority of the Queen, now that matters were drawing to a close (*che le cose stringevano*), it was not to be borne that he should appropriate the whole business to himself, sending his own agents and excluding those of her Majesty, to whom this office principally belonged, and they objected to the Abbot not only on account of his being the Cardinal's dependant (*servitor*), but also because he is an alien, and therefore not to be preferred to those who were the Queen's subjects. For these reasons it has been thought best not to employ either the Abbot or any Englishman, but to send *Missier Mattio di Priuli*, son of the most noble *Missier Antonio*,* who, under pretence of returning to Paris to continue his studies, will not seem to have been sent for this purpose, and will perform the office destined for the Abbot, taking with him both letters and the necessary instructions, of which he is to avail himself, if on his arrival at the French court he do not find that anything has been settled, thus avoiding any shame or affront from the danger of interfering with what was already accomplished, by sending a person ostensibly despatched for this business. (*Et così si fuggi et ogni indignità et vergogna che si potesse ricevere, per il pericolo di non moversi a cosa fatta, mandandosi persona che pari espedita per questo negotio.*)

The said *Messer Mathio* was to have taken his departure yesterday, but they delayed it until to-day, and it will perhaps be prolonged till to-morrow, so that he sent to say he would do his best to come and see me before leaving. The decision brought by the Abbot from Brussels was the full confirmation of their Majesties' will with regard to every article; so by reason of what he had heard from the French he was in great hopes of an indubitable adjustment (*di certo appuntamento*). At present he has met with this hindrance (*disturbo*), from the necessity for returning hither, Cardinal Pole having expressly ordered him so to do, not choosing to give him credentials for France, which the Abbot—foretelling as it were what came to pass—very earnestly requested of him, he being now in great doubt and distress, lest others reap the fruit of his exertions.

* *Matteo Priuli*, son of the Procurator *Antonio*, accompanied Cardinal Pole to England, and in 1565 became Bishop of Vicenza, which see he resigned to his nephew, *Michele Priuli*, in 1579. (See *Capellari, Campidoglio Veneto*, vol. 3, MS. in St. Mark's Library.)

and Brussels he remained two consecutive days in great debate with his right reverend brother, and it is not to be supposed that he was not on his side, and that he was not in the habit of so slight consideration with regard to the honor of the Cardinal and of the most serene Queen. The one view as it is held for a time that at the conference held by the representatives for the exchange of prisoners, matters were so far advanced that it was this time the decision was not only reached, it cannot be long delayed; and indeed the Abbot had, regarding a subject not far from an alto fresco (toto), usually considered as a desirable mission on the business is in course of negotiation, besides the desire to which he would be put if completed to return from having and the news on the road. The other view, that the Lords of the Council presented to Cardinal Fieschi and complained to him that for the dignity and authority of the Pope, more that matters were drawing to a close (and he is now struggling) it was not to be borne that he should appropriate the whole business to himself, sending his own agents and excluding those of her Majesty, to whom this office particularly belonged, and they objected to the Abbot not only on account of his being the Cardinal's dependent (servitor), but also because he is an alien, and therefore not to be preferred to those who were the Queen's subjects. For these reasons it has been thought best not to employ either the Abbot or any Englishman, but to send Monsieur Mellet de Fieschi, son of the most noble Marshal de France, who, under pretence of returning to Paris to continue his studies, will not seem to have been sent for this purpose, and will perform the office destined for the Abbot, taking with him both letters and the necessary instructions, on which he is to dwell himself, if on his arrival at the French court he do not find that anything has been settled, then awaiting, may show or object from the danger of interfering with what was already accomplished, by sending a person ostensibly despatched for this business. (It cost at length a great indignity of everyone else's justice, however, for if persons of non movers a case better, notwithstanding persons who put expedite per questo negocio.)

The said Monsieur Mellet was to have taken his departure yesterday, but they delayed it until to-day, and it will perhaps be prolonged till to-morrow, so that he sent to say he would do his best to come and see me before leaving. The decision brought by the Abbot from Brussels was the full continuation of their Majesty's will with regard to every article, and by reason of what he had heard from the French he was in great hopes of an indubitable adjustment (the only appointment). At present he has met with this distance (distance), from the necessity for returning his Majesty's Cardinal Fieschi, having expressly ordered him so to do, not choosing to give him credit for Fieschi, which the Abbot—forgetting as it were what came to pass—very cordially requested of him, he being now in great doubt and distress, but after with the result of his conference.

* Monsieur Mellet, son of the Frenchman Antoine, was appointed Cardinal Fieschi in 1572, and in 1585 became Bishop of Tournay, which he resigned in 1600. He died in 1617. (See *Les Evêques de Tournay*, vol. 2, pp. 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.)

